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AGE-GROUPS AMONG THE IKA AND KINDRED PEOPLE

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SYNOPSIS

The term Age-group is preferable to those of Age-grade, Age-class, Age-set, for reasons given by Professor Radcliffe-Brown and Dr. Richards. Age-grouping is a social device, not a biological recognition of immaturity, maturity and decrepitude. Such divisions are found for instance among bees. If age-groups were thus biologically based they would be found in all human societies but as age-grouping is a social device, it is not found in all human societies. Thus it is not normally found among food-gatherers, nor does it exist among Hottentot or ourselves. Age-grouping is of two types, the Hamitic and the New Guinea. Hamitic is based on initiation rites at puberty and is claimed by Driberg to have originated among the Galla and to be the only true kind of age-group. New Guinea type, so called because first described among natives of New Guinea, is found also in Guinea of Africa. In this type persons form age-groups by birth, without initiation ceremonies. So little is known of this type that it has failed to obtain recognition by such anthropologists as Father Schmidt and Professor Linton. This type is widely spread in West Africa where, in stateless or unorganized societies, it is the matrix of the social structure. An account of the age-group system and its functions among the Ika, an Ibibio tribe in the Calabar Province, Southern Nigeria, is given by an Ibibio. He shows clearly how the age-group system functioned as an integrating force in maintaining the order and equilibrium of a village in societies where no law exists because there are no courts. A description of a similar system among the Ijo is given from an unpublished Government report.

As it is not possible to have two forms of administration functioning simultaneously, and as the age-group functions as part of the social structure, it breaks up and disappears when British administration, based on law and courts, is introduced. With the introduction of native courts the age-groups have ceased to function as institutions and have in many places died out.

African systems of government with laws and courts have been able to retain and use the age-group system for the lower ages and stages of society while retaining the administration and executive and judiciary within the royal or ruling group, e.g. the Nupe Kingdom: the Nguni and Sotho chiefdoms.

THE terms age-grades, age-sets and age-classes have been used to describe a feature found in the social structure of a number of different peoples. The use of any of these terms is to be deplored because they connote more than one meaning. The use of the term age-grade should be restricted to the recognized biological grades that an individual passes through from infancy to old age, i.e. infant, boy, youth, adult, young married men, elders and decrepitude.[1]

It seems that it was on these lines that Schurtz argued for the origin of "age-groups" in human societies. If his argument were true, then, because age-grades are common to all human beings, one would expect the corresponding "age-groupings" to occur in all societies, but this phenomenon is by no means universal and where found is at least of two different types. Hence the serious objection to the use of the term "age-grades". The term "age-classes" is also objectionable because class suggests difference in status due to differences in rank, but "age-groups" are not constituted on such a basis.

The use of the expression "age-sets" also has disadvantages, because its primary meaning is a "sect" or "sept", suggesting a group that has seceded or cut itself away from the main grouping whereas what happens is that a number of people of approximately the same age aggregate together to form a unit that so far from seceding from the rest of its society aims at integrating itself with other similarly constituted units.

"The distinction between 'group' and 'section' is not a mere verbal quibble: the words stand respectively for two fundamentally different processes, 'fusion' and 'fission' by which society is organized and the loose use of these and kindred terms obscures the real nature of any social structure." [2]

The use of the term "age-group" is free of these objections and for that reason I use it.

Age-groups have received little recognition as a framework in the social structure of African tribes. In those tribes that have no political system and in many that do, the age-group maintains the social structure. Fortes and Evans-Pritchard in their book, *African Political Systems*, do not discuss the age-group as an alternative mechanism for integrating the tribe in place of a political system. It is of course possible that these authors do not regard the age-group as a political system.

Linton in his book, *The Study of Man*, dismisses the institution thus:

"The use of age as a reference point for establishing status is as universal as the use of sex. All societies recognize three age groupings as a minimum: child, adult, old. Certain societies have emphasized age as a basis for assigning status and have greatly amplified the divisions. Thus in certain African tribes the whole male population is divided into units composed of those born in the same years or within two-or-three-year intervals. However, such extreme attention to age is unusual and we need not discuss it here."[3]

Linton is here hinting at Schurtz's theory of the tripartite division of society into adolescence, maturity and senescence, as providing the base from which the various age-group systems are developed. Similar tripartite divisions are, for instance, found among bees. "The life of the worker bee may be divided into three periods."[4] Though this tripartite division is everywhere

[1] RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. R. p. 21 (1929).
[2] RICHARDS, F. J. p. 42 (1929).
[3] LINTON, R. p. 118 (1936).
[4] The three stages may be summarized as: acting as nurses to hatching bees; taking part in more advanced activities in the economy of the hive: functioning as full-time workers. There is no senescence. IMMS, A. O. *Social Behaviour in Insects*. p. 56 (London 1938).

created in human society by the mere efflux of time, no age-groups are found for instance among food-gatherers, excepting the Eskimo, nor among the eastern Siberians, nor among the Yoruk Indians, nor among the Hottentots nor in our own society. Consequently where age-groups are found they are social creations independent of biological considerations. "There are in some regions sub-divisions of each of these three primary age-gradings which are socially and historically and not biologically determined."[1] "Age-sets are really life-status groups for the natives do not know their ages."[2]

What Linton has not realized is that in Africa two types of age-groups occur and each has been the frame-work, if not the actual social structure, which in a stateless society has held society together. In other words age-groups are, where found, a social device for integrating the activities of societies.

The two types of age-groups may be described as the Hamitic and the New Guinea. The Hamitic type, described by Driberg is according to him the only type that merits the title of age-group. His definition of an age-group is that: "(1) admission depends primarily on age and is associated with puberty rites. (2) Every member of the tribe must be affiliated to the system at the proper age. (3) There is no individual admission, but groups of coevals are jointly initiated. (4) Promotion to higher degrees of initiation is similarly compulsory and automatic with the passage of the years, even when fees have to be paid or further rites have to be undergone. (5) The system is strictly unilateral, confined to males, though a corresponding institution for females may exist, but where it exists, functions independently. (6) The system is democratic."[3] Of this system Driberg remarks. "Only in Africa, and within a limited area, is the true age-grade system found functioning as a sociological element in tribal life and of the utmost importance. . . . The Galla, with their very complex system, are the centre and source of this culture."[3]

In this form this age-group system has a very limited distribution but where it is found it constitutes the social structure: it is the integrating factor which in the absence of courts, of legal sanctions, of a system of law as understood by lawyers, holds society together, administers it, controls it.

Organized societies, such as the Zulu and the Kikuyu, employ this type of age-group for limited use, e.g. as the basis of regiments in a military organization. Here age-groups no longer function as the frame-work of the social structure, they are merely items in it. They represent what remain of the original social structure after impact with a ruling group that brings with it political institutions. A good example is the Nupe Kingdom to-day.

"The New Guinea type of age-group is common on the east coast of New Guinea. All children born within about two years of each other are formed into male and female *kimta*. There is no ceremony of admission, membership is fixed by the time of one's birth and the community may thus consist of some thirty-five *kimta*. It is these age-grades that run and control their societies."[4] This type of age-group is called the New Guinea because it was first described among the New Guinea natives. Some anthropologists are of the opinion that gerontocratic age-groups are an invention of the Negro. "Judging chiefly from the distribution data, gerontocracy appears to be correlated in distribution with the Negroid race. Where dominantly Australoid peoples, such as the Australians, exhibit the institution it may be due to Negro influence and admixture. Negroid and Australoid races were once continuous in geographical range from the Pacific around the Indian Ocean to West Africa: and with this racial continuum, according to Frobenius and others, there was an archaic culture continuum. This culture continuum may have included the institution of gerontocracy."[5]

No evidence is produced to support the statement that the Negroid race extended along the

[1] Jacobs and Stern, p. 178 (1948).
[2] Sumner and Keller. III, p. 1602 (1946).
[3] Driberg, J. H. p. 344 (1927).
[4] Rivers, W. H. R. p. 136 (1926).
[5] Macleod, W. C. Vol. VI, p. 638 (1948).

Pacific littoral to West Africa. There is evidence that the Negro migrated westwards from Africa and he would transport his culture with him. Hence this type of age-group might be called the Guinea type by just dropping the word "New" from New Guinea.

Though the Guinea type of age-groups or gerontocracy is wide spread on the West Coast of Africa, it is so little known that Father Schmidt restricted the range of age-groups to parts of Oceania, Indonesia, South Africa, East Africa, the Bororo of South America and the Eskimo of North America.[1]

"Rivers writing in 1911 was apparently ignorant of the existence of gerontocracy in East Africa, and his theories regarding the cultural linkages of the institution cannot be considered as valid until thoroughly re-appraised in the light of the African data. Rivers, for example, makes much of the linkage of the dual organization and of gerontocracy in Melanesia and considers these as intimately interrelated in development. But in Negro Africa there is no definite evidence of the present or past existence of the dual organization."[2]

However, I have shown that a form of the dual organization is widely distributed over Africa and is not necessarily a feature of Negro society, but is rather that of the Hamitic peoples of Ancient Egypt.[3] A few remarks on gerontocracy will reveal its existence clearly among the peoples with whom I am acquainted. "The term gerontocracy . . . should be confined to the designation of a formal pattern of social organization in which the aged are organized into councils of elders. It may be defined as the dominance through social control of the upper age class among peoples who have no form of state, no political organization or political control . . . Gerontocracy appears to be confined to the primitive culture strata of Negro Africa—surviving in West Africa on the margins of the development of the state or political control, dominant among the more primitive cultures of the Bantu of Kenya colony in East Africa—and to the Negroid and Australoid and mixed Negro Australoid peoples of Melanesia and Australia. In these cultures an age classification of communities is found with oldest age groups functioning as a council of elders. The elders do not exercise the functions of chiefs or rulers; they do not possess legislative, judicial or executive powers. They act in a quasi-judicial capacity as arbitrators of a sort when there is a dispute about damages in the community, and after hearing the facts they give their opinion on the common law and on what damages should be paid. They have no power to enforce the payment of damages."[4]

This type of social structure was briefly summarized for some Nigerian tribes in 1926. "Society is divided (in many Nigerian Tribes) into age-classes or 'companies', comprising those in each class born within certain periods. In some tribes there are many of these companies, the first starting with quite young children. These companies were, at least in certain places, essential links in the chain of government, and even at the present day have importance. Each company has its own particular duties, for example, one to look after the roads and rest houses, one to keep order in the town, one to do the fighting and generally one to rule the country. The oldest graduates are thus commonly the political leaders of the village, and often by no means the most competent men; this it is easy to see, may complicate matters for the European government official."[5]

Very little is known about the age-group systems of Southern Nigeria. Dr. Meek wrote of the Ibo. "The next social institution that calls for some description is the age-grade organization, by which all male members of society are classified in groups or companies of approximately the same age. As a general rule the groups remain unorganized until the members reach the age of fifteen to eighteen. Boys form their grade automatically and informally through playing together at night or engaging in wrestling bouts . . . There is no ceremony of initiation into the grade, but it is customary for a father to give a feast to his

[1] Lowie, R. H. Vol. I, p. 482 (1948). [2] Macleod, W. C. Vol. VI, p. 637 (1948). [3] Jeffreys, M. D. W. Vols. II and III, (1946). [4] Macleod, W. C. Vol. VI, p. 637 (1948). [5] Maxwell, J. L. p. 30 (1936).

sons's grade, when the son begins to wear clothing. When the age-class reaches the age of fifteen to eighteen it may take a name and appoint some senior man as its captain . . . "[1]

This informal inauguration of an age-group in Ibo society is the usual practice in the unorganized West African social systems. Dr. Meek gives a description of how these age-groups function and shows that they replace, in an organized society, a system of law. Consequently one may correctly say that such societies have no law, that their social structure maintains and controls society. There is nothing in this age-group social structure which forms part of any such system of law known to a lawyer. The introduction of a system of law into such societies spelt the end of the age-group system of social control. "The executive powers of the age-grades have been greatly curtailed since the introduction of the Native Courts,"[2] and as will be seen further on, have in most cases obliterated them.

Because so very little is known about the age-group systems of the peoples of Southern Nigeria these notes on the Ika, a group of the Anaŋ Ibibio, of the Calabar Province are put together as a small contribution to that little.

Goldie, in his *Efik Dictionary* records under *nka*: "A class or order. Into these classes or orders the people are divided according to age chiefly. There are at present seven *nkas* at Calabar, each of which is a society having its own office bearers. Each of them takes its turn of watching the town, and when war is undertaken or any public work performed, the inhabitants are called out according to their *nkas*."[3]

Now Efik is a dialect of the parent stock, the Ibibio,[4] and of these Talbot writes: "The Ibibio, like most Nigerian peoples, are divided into age classes or Nka, the number of which varies from three to ten. When there are only three or four of these in a town, entrance is not permitted till the age of puberty, and after the teeth have been filed and the town tribal 'marks' made upon the youth. In places where there are many Nka, children are generally admitted into the first when about three to five years old. As a rule there is no special ceremony, except a feast given by the parents, and in some cases a present to the old men of the town. . . . Male and female Nka never mix, and each tries all minor cases and settles any disputes between its members."[5]

The Anaŋ are a distinct group of the Ibibio on the right bank of the Kwa-Ibo river. Most of this group are in the Abak district of the Calabar Province. The Anaŋ belong to the uncentralized or lineage form of social organization. Among the Anaŋ is a number of lineages who call themselves Ika and recognize a supreme magico-religious priest. The eastern boundary of this group is the Kwa-Ibo river. The northern and western boundaries march with those of the Aba division of the Owerri province, while its southern boundary makes contact with a number of loose lineages, in the Abak district.

In 1928 I was engaged on a murder case at Utu Etim Ekpo, a village in this area, and the question of the duties and functions of the *nka* arose. I was too busy on the bench to take any notes of the local age-group system but I found a local native who was a literate, Kwa-Ibo mission, school-teacher and I asked him to describe the formation, duties and functions of the *nka* among the Ika. Here is his account:

> "In the Ika tribe is found the *Udim Ekpo* or *nka*. Men and women each have their own separate *nka*. These groups are of great use to the town because they help the natives in the town in their work and often help to purify native life. These *nka* have existed for generations and even the oldest men can remember no stories about their origin. An *nka* is formed every two years. *Ebem* and *Ndin* mean last year and this year.
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> "A feast called *Ukekpe* is held at the end of Ndin year. At this feast a new *nka* receives recognition. Each child when born becomes a member of an *nka* and remains in it for the rest

[1] Meek, C. K. p. 197 (1937).
[2] Meek, C. K. p. 200 (1937).
[3] Goldie, H. (1874).
[4] Jeffreys, M. D. W. p. 36 (1935).
[5] Talbot, P. A. p. 215 (1923).

of his life unless expelled for some crime. An *nka* does not really come into existence until the children are about nine or ten years old. All boys and girls at that age are told to form a 'company' or *nka*. It usually has thirty to forty members, who then hold a meeting where a leader is chosen and the *nka* is named after him. He then asks for contributions to be made, either of one or two manillas each person.[1] With this money a feast is held and the *nka* comes into being. The town does not demand from them any contributions or expect much work from them until they reach the age of puberty. These *nka* are like 'steps and stairs' from the oldest down to the very youngest. In the village of Ikot Akpan Anwa there are over twenty *nka* of males and probably about thirty of females. These numbers include children's *nka*.

"Each *nka* has its code of honour, and regulations, and also its tasks or work, allotted to it by the members of the head company, the village heads. One *nka* is selected to see that all the other *nka* do their share of work and to 'hold the town' as we express it. They also listen to any *nka* complaints. Should the village heads and other *nka* not assist this special *nka* to carry out its supervision it may call a town meeting and demand 'who is ruining this town'. If no remedial action is taken this *nka* may throw down a palm-leaf— a sign that their work is finished and that 'holding the town' is no longer their responsibility. This sometimes happens, but usually the people agree to 'hear the voice of the *nka*', i.e. to obey its demands and the discord is settled.[2]

"The work allotted to an *nka* varies, some have to attend to the work demands of the British Government, e.g. road-making:[3] other *nka* attend to the work of the town. Some *nka* are directed to attend the church and others the school.[4] Each *nka* has its own gong and the leader of the *nka* beats this gong around the town the previous night, so that there can be no excuse for not turning up the following morning to work.[5]

"If any member of an *nka* failed to turn up, then, when the task is over that day, the *nka* will visit his compound to ask him to pay a fine. If he fails to pay his forfeit, the *nka* may seize a fowl or something else belonging to him which is held until the fine of two to eight manillas is paid. If a member consistently refuses to turn out with his *nka* he can be expelled from it. Any fines collected are shared among the members of the *nka* or they may be spent in providing a feast for its members. Sometimes some of the members are unwilling to go collecting fines. Then, those who do go keep, and share, the fines they collect.

"The *nka* is a kind of mutual aid society. If a member falls ill and as a result becomes so poor that he has no money to pay for medicine, his *nka* sends the native doctor to give him medicine and pays the costs; or if a member gets into trouble his *nka* will raise the money to help him out of his trouble. If a member commits an offence such as stealing, he must pay a fine of a goat or a cow to his *nka*. If he does not pay this fine he may be taken before the native court and charged with 'spoiling the name of the *nka*' in addition to being

[1] Manilla, local horseshoe money worth about two pence. [2] Cf. GREEN, M. M. *Ibo Village Affairs.* (London: 1947) p. 133.

[3] This remark refers to the old Nigerian *Roads and Rivers Ordinance* whereby Africans could be compelled to maintain and repair roads and to clear away waterways of obstructions. This ordinance has long been cancelled.

[4] I have at times been met by a deputation of village elders complaining of an age-group which they had detailed to attend a mission school. They complained of the disorderliness and lack of discipline of these youths. When an age-group is thus handed over to a mission, native society washes its hands of it and expects the mission to do the social training. The mission is intent only on propagating the Gospel and on winning convetrs, two activities that do not make for integrating this age-group with the others of the village. The members of such an age-group now become social misfits. The mission does not train them to fit in with the other age-groups of the village and they are not fitted to inegrate into our own society. It is not Christianity that is to blame but the methods used by missions for instructional purposes, and which take no cognizance of the social structure of the village.

[5] These gongs are slit, wooden ones, with a high and low note and a middle note. Because Ibibio is a tone language these gongers could thus announce through toning the gongs where and when to meet and the nature of the work to be done.

punished by the court for stealing. If a member turns out to be a witch or is found using poisonous herbs, he is expelled from the *nka* and perhaps from the town.[1] No member is allowed to wound another with a matchete. If he does, he is fined by his *nka*. He has to provide it with palm-wine and a goat. If the town requires money for any special purpose a town meeting is held at which sums of money are fixed for each *nka* to pay. The amount is fixed by the strength of the *nka* and the sum is then split equally among the members, so that each pays alike."

Here ends this African's account of age-groups. This brief outline makes it clear that the age-group system was a social organization that gave a cohesion to a society that nothing else did.

Thus, when a personal tax was imposed in 1928 for the first time on these people, the total sum payable by a village based on its taxable males as revealed by the nominal rolls was notified to the elders who then proceeded to collect the money by age-groups as indicated above. The consequence of demanding, for instance, higher personal contributions from the members of richer age-groups than the rate authorized by Government so that a rate lower than that authorized might be paid by the poorer age-groups was not comprehended by some administrative officers. Hence village elders were charged with extortion and were prosecuted. Such prosecutions doomed the age-groups as tax collecting mechanisms and they soon ceased to function as social organizations.

One function that the age-groups played in these societies was to act as a barrier to the breakdown of the social structure and of social relations between family groups. A village can be visualized as divided vertically by families and between families disputes and frictions constantly arise. Running horizontally across these vertical divisions are the age-groups. Age-groups ignored inter-family quarrels. If two families *A* and *B* were temporarily not on speaking terms, the age-group members would not permit members of *A* and *B* to continue the family feud within the age-group. In this way age-groups acted as binding or constraining forces within local village societies.

The manner in which these Ika age-groups were maintained may be seen in their marriages by age-groups. The marriage rite of these maidens follows the usual pattern of "rites of passage". A period of isolation when the girl is kept secluded, isolated and is fattened, preceeds the initiation into the ranks of the married. This initiation is performed by age-groups followed by re-incorporation into society through a ceremonial feast. Both the Ika and their neighbours, the Okun, each have their own *aywa mbobo*, i.e. marriage square. On one day in the year all the brides of each clan attend their own square. The Okun parade one day and the Ika celebrate their débutantes' début the next.

I attended one of these débuts in 1926. The square, located away in the forest, had been specially cleared and fenced for the occasion. Paths leading to it were barricaded and a toll taken from each visitor. I paid four manillas. As several thousands of people assemble, the takings are quite large. An elaborate ceremony occurs before the débutantes arrive. A long bundle is dragged around the square in charge of two men who appeared to control its movements. It was followed by a group of women in sackcloth and ashes, each holding a bunch of leaves in her hands. I was not able in the short time to find out the significance of this rite and never afterwards had an opportunity of visiting the site again. Thereafter the brides, with attendant maidens and relatives, were heard singing and dancing as in distinct village groups they converged on the square. The bridegrooms and their supporters were there and in about an hour the square was filled with several thousands of people. Each bride, thoroughly fattened, but quite naked except for ornaments on head, neck, wrists, waist and ankles and skin shining with a dressing of palm-kernel oil, paraded the square from shrine to shrine, situated at the base of the great trees and there made appropriate sacrifices.

[1] Expulsion meant social and economic ruin and eventually death.

Meanwhile on a high earth mound in the centre of the square each bride-groom surrounded by his party took it in turns to clamber up and expose himself to the full view of the assembled multitude. As each bride and bridegroom completed their public ceremonies the brides, and there must have been over fifty of them that day, were carried off on the shoulders of either their husbands or else of a powerful friend.

Missionaries have taken exception to these proceedings which now no longer occur. Prior to these public marriages the brides endure a course of fattening when they undergo a body cicatrization, called *ŋko*. No bride who has been pregnant is allowed this cicatrization. Such cicatrization is a mark of blameless girlhood and the evidence lasts throughout life.

This open handing over of the brides is a public registration of the marriage: everyone knows who is being married and to whom, a state of affairs not achieved under the new regime ushered in under the Christian missions who also object to the nudity parade of the brides; but the native knows that you cannot fatten sick cattle, and a bride who will not fatten is rejected. This custom ensured that only healthy brides were wedded, also any manifest deformity in the girl is immediately detected in the parade and such a girl would also be rejected. There were thus sound sociological and biological reasons for this annual wedding ceremony. Such brides would all have children at approximately the same dates and hence great uniformity in the average age of an age-group was maintained.

The marriage of an age-group of girls all on one day suggests a form of group marriages described by Howitt as existing among Australian aborigines.[1] However, there is a fundamental difference between the peoples. Whereas among the Australians, an age-group of males is married to an age-group of females and there is then free access by members to either sex in this marriage; the Ika system is different. Though an age-group of girls is married on the same day, their husbands are not from one age-group but from many. Consequently there is no question of free intercourse between the males of one age-group and the females of another age-group, to whom they are married. The Ika system of the public marriage of a female age-group is to publicize these marriages as a warning against committing adultery with such women. I did not come across any suggestion that any male other than the one who had paid the "bride-price" had access to such a female.

The effective role that age-groups played in the integration and administration of these stateless societies has not been fully realized. This brief outline makes it clear that the age-group system was a social organization that gave to the social structure a cohesion that nothing else did. In this connection what Dr. Talbot writes of the Ijɔ is of interest. "The division into age-classes has practically disappeared among the Western Ijaw and is not of much importance with the rest. The Lower Ijaw usually have 4 'companies', the first of which is generally joined at about the age of 5 years, on which occasion the parents provide a feast for the members. It is possible that the Ijaw were not originally possessed of this organization."[2] As no description of the now vanished age-group-system among the Ijɔ has been published the following description of it among the Iduwini group of Ijɔ in the Niger delta is given. "The principle age class is that of *okusowe* (elders or seniors). Its members constitute the *amagula* or village council. It is in their hands that village government lies. These members each carry a title as regards their several positions on the council—but they are more properly forms of address. A list of these titles runs as follows:

Title	*Interpretation*
Amakusowe	Senior or elder
Oloriowe	Spokesman of Council
Amananaowe	Senior Spokesman
Opuonikarowe	High Priest
Bebetemowe	Legal Adviser
Lytulamowe	Adviser
Ozihinawe	Council Crier
Amatienowe	Town Crier.

[1] Howitt, A. W. *J.A.I.* XVIII (1933).

[2] Talbot, P. A. III, p. 649 (1926).

Then comes the *Palamo Kosowe* or senior adults; the *Ogbotu* or adults in the prime of life and the *Asiepose* or junior adults followed by the *Kalaposi*, comprising the young men between the ages of seventeen and twenty. This group is engaged in communal work.

"Two other age-sets are both dance classes, one comprising girls between the ages of ten and fifteen and is known as the *Irewoba* and the other of boys between the ages of nine and ten and known as *Kalawo*.

"Elderly women form a group known as *Okosiyorota* whose occupation is fishing. All these groups are under the control of the *Okusowe*. The last group, the *Geingein-Kalayorowo* consists of children eight to ten, who work for their families, such as fetching water and firewood."[1] This method of governing through the age-group system is found in full force among the Nandi of East Africa where a special age-group composed, not of the elders of the people, but of the group of the senior warriors just below the elders and old men, is regularly and ceremoniously invested with the administration of the people.

"The ceremony of handing over the country from one age to another is one of the most importance in the annals of Nandi history. This takes place about every seven and a half years . . . All the old men and the members of the age immediately preceeding the one in power stand up, whilst the warriors who are going to receive the control of the country sit down. On a sign from the chief medicine man the members of the preceeding age divest themselves of their warriors' skins and put on old men's fur garments.

"The warriors of the age in power . . . are then solemnly informed that the safety of the country and the welfare of the inhabitants are placed in their hands, and they are instructed to guard the land of their fathers."[2]

Now it will be noticed that among the Ika there appears to be a somewhat similar arrangement. One *ŋka* has the duty of governing, i.e. "holding the town" and this *ŋka* does not include the village heads. What is also of interest is that attendances at village or bush schools was by *ŋka*.

The *ŋka* system among the Ibibio had almost disappeared by the time I left. The main disrupting force was the refusal of District Officers to sanction the penalties imposed by an *ŋka* on what they regarded as a recalcitrant member. The imposition of such penalties had wider implications than the above bald statement indicates. Thus, a member of an *ŋka* would become a catechumen of a missionary society which, for instance, forbade its adherents from attending pagan ceremonies. An occasion would arise for the repair of a town shrine. An *ŋka* would be detailed for the work. Any member of the *ŋka* who was a catechumen and did not want to do the work would plead his religion as an excuse. If his *ŋka* therefore penalized him upon *ŋka* lines by seizing some possession of his, or of his family, e.g. a fowl or a goat, he would complain to the District Officer that property had been wantonly seized. If the District Officer took no steps on the grounds that native custom was operating, an appeal to the Mission would bring a letter reminding the District Officer of the following Royal Instructions (Protectorate). "XI. The Governor is, to the utmost of his powers to promote religion and education among the native inhabitants, and he is especially to take care to protect them in their persons and in the free enjoyment of their possessions, and by all lawful means to prevent and restrain all violence and injustice which may in any manner be practised or attempted against them."[3]

If the case went to the Native Court, the Native Court dismissed it on the score that it administered native custom and that the *ŋka* was acting within its rights. An appeal was then laid to the District Officer's Court or to that of a Magistrate and there it was clear that the complainant had not been allowed the "free enjoyment of his property"; he had actually suffered a loss; there had also been a display of hostility if not of violence against the catechumen and the Mission asked, in order that no similar incidents should occur in the future, that an exemplary sentence be passed.

[1] Hook, R. J. (1929)
[2] Hollis, A. C. p. 13 (1909).
[3] Kingdom, D. IV, 379 (1923).

Those of the *ŋka* who took an active part were duly sentenced. The *ŋka* lost heart and threw down the palm-leaf. This social organization then broke up. In many towns this age-group organization has disappeared. Thus in the Ibiono group of the Ibibio no *ŋka* existed in 1930.

Such societies have no law, if the law is briefly described as "what the courts enforce". Such societies did not have courts, but meetings. The creation of native courts in such societies was the introduction of a foreign element. Such an element enabled the British Government to introduce its own concepts of law and order and the enforcement thereof; while at the same time Government was thus enabled to gain some idea of what was happening in these stateless societies. The native courts were the death-knell of the maintenance of order by age-groups in these uncentralized societies. A system of court enforced law and order took the place of the sanctions recognized by the age-groups. Supplanted and surpassed, the age-groups have ceased to function in most of these societies.

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A SWAZI TRANSLATION OF 1846

D. ZIERVOGEL

SYNOPSIS

This paper presents the first eight pages with interlinear rendering into modern orthography with English translation of, and notes on, a Wesleyan Methodist catechism in Swazi: Tenkatekisemi ta la Bawesley Methodisti, . . . *Platberg 1846. The original booklet of 18 pages 8vo comprises five chapters, and an appendix. It reposes in the Grey Collection of the South African Library.*

The king "Raputsa" wishes to import missionaries into his country. Emissaries are sent to the "Bechuana country" to find them. Giddy and Allison undertake a journey to the "Raputsa country" in 1844. They return but leave "teachers". In 1846 Allison returns to the "Raputsa Country" and settles at Mahamba. Some subjects of the king "Mosuase" flee from him and settle near the mission station where about 50 individuals are massacred. Allison abandons the station.

The orthography of the Catechism is that of Tswana in the early days. The "tekela" characteristic of Swazi is regularly encountered, but not its "tsitsita" characteristic. The vocabulary contains some archaic forms, some unknown and specially coined words.

INTRODUCTION

A MOST interesting booklet bearing the title *Tenkatekisemi ta la Bawesley Methodisti* . . . is to be found in the Grey Collection of the South African Library in Cape Town. It is also listed in Bleek's Catalogue. Prof. J. A. Engelbrecht of the University of Pretoria made a copy of the first six pages of the mentioned booklet. He gave an interlinear translation in English from some old *Catechisms of the Wesleyan Methodists* which probably formed the basis of the original translation. Prof. Engelbrecht kindly made his copy available to me. I studied the text and found some words unknown to me in Swazi. So I set about enquiring from old Swazis, and found that with the exception of a few words the vocabulary of the Catechism was still in use or else was remembered as "used by the old people". Later I did have the opportunity of seeing the original booklet myse'f. Unfortunately I could on'y glance through the booklet of 8vo format and 18 pages of print. Through the kind offices of Mr. Varley, the Librarian of the South African Library a photostat copy was made available to me.

The booklet consists of the title page and 18 following pages. On pages 1 to 7 we find five Chapters: I on God, II on the Creation of Man, III on the Fall of Man, IV on the Redemption of Man, and V on Heaven and Hell. On page 8 follows the Lord's Prayer and the Apostle's Creed;' page 9 has *E lungelelo goe nkatekisemi ea ncanti* (The Appendix to the first Catechism); which gives the names of important characters from the Holy Scriptures by means of questions

and answers, (e.g. Who was Adam? Adam was the first man . . .); pages 15 to 17 gives several prayers; pages 17 to 18 the Ten Commandments.[1]

It is not at all certain who was responsible for the translation, but one is led to assume that it was James Allison. Wangemann gives a short history of the missionary activities in Swaziland.[2] He relates how Giddy and Allison undertook a fifty days' journey to king Mswazi in 1844, after a deputation of elders of the Swazi nation had been to Thaba Nchu to try and find a missionary to come to their country. Mswazi's father, Rapuza (Raputsa, i.e. Sobhuza I or Somhlolo) had heard of the good work of the missionaries amongst the Rolong, and on his deathbed he made his son promise to send in quest of these missionaries. Giddy and Allison were received with great ceremony, and they returned with a favourable report. The result was that Allison was sent to Swaziland in 1846, to bring the Gospel to the Swazis. Allison settled at Mahamba in the southern portion of the Swazi domain.[3] Wangemann further reports: "Gedrückte Lehrbücher in der Swazisprache branchte er schon mit" (Books to learn from, printed in the Swazi language he [Allison] already brought along). What these books were, and who had prepared them, we do not know, and probably never shall.

Allison had been working amongst the Tswana, having arrived at Platberg in 1837.[4] Whether he knew Xhosa or Zulu before he went there is not known; it is very unlikely that he did, neither is it known how much Swazi he knew when he arrived in Swaziland. A man of his calibre would have found ways and means to gain some knowledge of this language. Whatever the position the fact remains that Allison had arrived in Swaziland in 1846 with a catechism printed in Swazi.

In the beginning of 1847 [5] trouble arose between Mswazi and his half-brother Malambule. The latter fled to Allison.[6] Wangemann tells how Allison and his wife had to look on while Malambule's followers were killed without being able to do anything. The missionary and his wife were unharmed, but this unfortunate incident meant the end of Allison's missionary activities in Mswazi's country. He left with some faithful followers to Endaleni, in Natal.

However much one would like to pursue Allison's visit to, and stay in, the country of "Raputsa", this would not be the place for it. The Catechism he brought along with him to the Swazi people in their own tongue is indeed a remarkable piece of literature. As a historical document it ranks very high. If it had not been for the unfortunate circumstances which lead to the abandonment of his mission station at Mahamba, the Swazi language might have been one of the literacy media of the southern Bantu.

As regards the Catechism:

(i) The orthography is that used at the time for Tswana and that still found in Southern Sotho. Trying to reconstruct the language is quite a formidable task, and requires a sound knowledge of modern Swazi.

(ii) The *tekela* characteristic of Swazi (using *t'* for Zulu *z*) is very much in evidence, while the *tsitsita* characteristics (*tsh* for *th*; *dz* for *d*) is encountered only twice; why so remains a mystery. Grammatically the language used is good Swazi, and shows that only very slight changes have occurred in the last 100 years.

(iii) From the vocabulary emerges the fact that many ordinary Swazi words were used,

[1] Another page, evidently not from the Catechism, was photographed and sent to me. On it is printed:

Scripture Extracts

Four loose sheets of two leaves octavo each, only one side of them being printed on. They have no pagination, nor do they bear any mark of their date or place of printing but there is scarcely a doubt that they were issued from the Wesleyan Mission Press, Platberg, Betshuana country, about 1846.

[2] Dr. Wangemann, *Die evangelische Missionsarbeit in Südafrica* (Berlin: 1872) p. 319. Unfortunately he does not quote his sources.

[3] To-day Mahamba is situated about 25 miles from Piet Retief, on the Swaziland-Transvaal border.

[4] Findlay and Holdsworth, *The History of the Welseyan Methodist Missionary Society*, Vol. IV, (1922.) No sources are mentioned.

[5] According to Wangemann.

[6] Vide Bryant's story in his *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal* (London: 1929) p. 326. Neither does he quote his sources.

and that other words were coined, to express religious terms, avoiding as much as possible loan-words. Some of these coined words are no longer used, although the derivation is quite evident. A few words are no longer known.

Only the title page and the first 8 pages are treated in the following. The original is here given with a transcription in its modern Swazi as near as possible to the original; thereafter follows a very literal English translation. Notes elucidate the text. In the modern transcription words in italics indicate that such words would no longer be regarded as modern Swazi, a possible modern form is given in brackets. The transcription is not meant to be a modern translation of the Catechism, for modern speech would not necessarily employ the words of the Catechism to express the same idea; compare the Catechism's Lord's Prayer with the modern version, which is a rendering by the present author in conjunction with an educated Swazi.

Note

Having completed the preparation for print of the notes on Allison's activities in Swaziland, the author has come across two reports on the same subject in the Missionary Register for 1846 and for 1848. The 1846 report covers the visit of Giddy and Allison to the "Baraputsi", and was partly prepared by Richard Giddy. He mentions some northern neighbours of the Swazis, "all speaking the Sechuana Language, or some dialect of it, . . . " At the court of "Mosuasi" the missionaries "were received in the most respectful manner", and an account is given of an "address" delivered by the king's uncle in which was stressed the desire of his people for the missionaries to settle in their country. Before they left they "erected a temporary dwelling and Chapel", and also left some "Teachers" behind.

The orthography and language of the "Catechism" is now quite understandable from the following statement: "*The language* bears such a close affinity to the Sechuana as to render its attainment by any who may be sent from Bechuanaland, a matter of no very great difficulty."

The 1848 report is very short. It bears out Wangemann's account of the murder of Mswazi's enemies. According to the report fifty were murdered.

These two reports bear out the accounts of both Wangemann and Bryant, but are not as complete as one would have liked them to be.

I. THE TEXT:

TENKATEKISEMI [1]

Tinkatekisemi
The Catechisms

TA LA
tala-
of the

BAWESLEY [2] METHODISTI:

6aWesley [2] Metodisti :
Wesleyan [2] Methodists :

TA PALIOA, [3] TA
tabalwa,[3] ta-
they were written,[3] and were

BANTETELOA,[4] NKE O MOLAEO [5] OE MBUTANO OE
6andzetelwa [4] ngemlayo [5] wem6utsano we-
(qindzetelwa ngemlayetelo wem6utfo we-)
printed [4] according to the order [5] of the assembly of

BAFUNDISI LA BATALA

6afundzisi la6adzala
their old teachers

BA BO, LO TIOAGO
6a6o, lowatiwako
which is known

E KONFERENSI

(kutsi) iKonferensi
as the Conference

Ta enteleloa [6] be tentlu [7] ta la Makoloa, ne be Tekolo le
Tentelwa [6] 6entidlu [7] tala Makholwa, ne6etikolo le-
They were made [6] for the homes [7] of these Believers and those of the schools which

te fundisoa ba bo.
tifundziswa 6a6o.
are taught by them.

E NKATEKISEMI EA NCANTI.[8]

Inkatekisemi *yancanti* [8] (yekuqala)
The first [8] Catechism.

NE E LUNGELELO [9]
nelungelelo [9]
and an appendix [9]

E na lenye e nkatekisemi le mficha [10] *e Mabito la Tepalo le te*
Inalenye inkatekisemi lemfisha [10] yema6ito latibalo leti-
having another short [10] catechism of the names of the holy [11] scriptures ;

Coengile; [11] *na to tenkulegelo.*
cwengile [11] (–ngcwele) ; nato tinkulekelo.
together with prayers.

TE PENDULOE NKE NKULUMO E BASOATI.
Tiphendvulwe ngenkulumo yemaswati.
They are translated in the language of the Swazis.

PLATBERG
PRINTED AT THE WESLEYAN MISSION PRESS.
1846

E MELANTELANO E [p. 1]

Imilandzelano ye-
The sequences of

TINKATEKISEMI, &C.

tinkatekisemi.
the Catechisms.

SEKAMO [12] SA NCANTI

Sigamu [12] sekuqala.
The first Chapter.[12] (< piece)

Sekulumo se goe [13]
Sikhulumo nge-
Speaking about

LETONGO [14]
Litfongo (Unkulunkulu). [14]
God.[14]

U entioe nku bane na? *
Wentiwe ngubani na? By whom were you made?

Letongo.
Unkulunkulu. By God.

Letongo le nkubani na?
Litfongo lingubani na? Who is God?

Nko Moia lo nga na mekaolo e bokuluine ba o; lo nga pele; o ba se logo o kona futi, jalo o ta go ba
NguMoya longanamikhaulo eɓukhulwini ɓawo, lo ngapheli, uɓa seloko ukhona futsi, njalo uta kuɓa
He is the Spirit which is without end in His greatness, who does not perish, since you have been, so

kona futi.
khona futsi.
will He always be.

Letongo li gope na?
Litfongo likuphi na? Where is God?

Le tangete tentao tonke, [15] *go te lap' a nge ko.*
Lita ngetindzawo tonke,[15] kúte lapha angekho.
He is everywhere,[15] there being no place where he is not.

Letongo le nke entane na?
Litfongo lingentani na? What can God do?

* In the original the questions are typed in italics ; the answers are in roman type.

Gonke logo le go tandago.
Konke loko lelikutsandzako. All that He wishes.

Letongo le ate tento tonke na?
Litfongo lati tintfo tonke na? Does God know all things?

E bo, ọ e ate e mekumbulo e onke le se ntlitioeni eé montu, ne mavonke, ne t'ento tonke ta ke.
Yeɓo, wati imikhumbulo yonke lesenhlitiyweni yemuntfu, nemavi onke, netintfo tonke takhe.
Yes, He knows all the thoughts which are in the heart of a person, and all words and all his things [=actions].

[p. 2]

Konje, Letongo lea go se bita go se bota ka le te se te kombulago na le te se te entago[16] *na?*
Konje, *Liftongo* liya kusiɓita kusiɓuta ngaleti sitikhumbulako naleti sitentako[16] na?
Will God call us to ask us [call us to account] for these [things] which we think and these we do?[16]

E bo, goba[17] *nke lelangu le gopela, e mesebenti e onke ea go sioa e goathluleloeni, na go gonke logo*
Yebo, ngoɓa[17] ngelilanga lekuphela, imiseɓenti yonke iya kusiwa ekwehlulelweni, nako konke loku-
Yes, because[17] on the last day all works shall be brought into judgment, and every

nke e nsete; na kona go nko lo gothle na lo gobe.
ngense; nakhona kungulokuhle nalokuɓi.
secret [thing]; whether it be good or bad.

Letongo lea gu tanda na?
Litfongo liyakutsandza na? Does God love you?

E bo, o ea tanda tento tonke le te a te entile.[16]
Yebo uyatsandza tintfo tonke leti a tentile [=latentile].[16]
Yes, He loves all things which He made.[16]

Letongo le enteni na?
Litfongo lenteni na? What does God do?

Tento tonke, kepa logo e hlulesisago nk'o Montu.
Tintfo tonke, kepha lo[illegible]edlulesisako [ngako] ngumuntfu.
All things, but that in which He excelled was man.

SEKAMO SE BOBELI.

Sigamu seɓuɓili.
The second Chapter.

Sekulumo se ntabulo ee montu oa ncanti.
Sikhulumo sendzaɓuko yemuntfu *wancanti* [wekuqala].
Speaking about the creation of the first man.

Letongo l'enta o montu njani?
Litfongo lenta umuntfu njani? How did God make man?

L'enta o motimba oa ke nke lotuli loe motlaba.
Lenta umtimba wakhe ngeluftuli lwemhlaßa.
He made his body with the dust of the earth.

Konje o moia oa ke oa vela e mothlabeni na?
Konje umoya wakhe wavela emhlaßeni na?
Did his spirit come out of the earth?

Nco no: YEHOVA Letongo la pefumolela e m'pefumolo [18] *oe bosilo* [19] *e tentunjeni te'mpe-*
Ncono [hhayi], Jehova Litfongo laphefumulela umphefumulo [18] weßuphilo [19] etintfunjeni temphe-
No, Jehova the Lord did breathe [18] the breath of life [19] in his nostrils,

fumolo oa ke, ku kona o montu a ba ne moia lo silile.[19]
fumulo wakhe, kukhona umuntfu aße nemoya lophilile.[19]
so that man may be with a living [19] soul.

Letongo la m'entelane o montu na?
Litfongo iamentelani umuntfu na? Why did God make man?

Oa m'enta goba e te a m'ate, a mo tande, a nabe na eè Letongo, ka logo nga pele.[20].
Wamenta kußa ete amati, amtsandze, anaße naye *Litfongo*, ngalokungapheli.[20]
He made him so that he should know Him and love Him, and be happy with Him, the Lord, with that which has no end [=for ever [20]].

E ntota ea ncanti ne moga eo, Letongo le ba begepe?
Indvodza y*ancanti* nemkayo, *Letfongo* lißaßekephi?
Where did God put the first man and his wife?

E nsimine eè Paradeise.
Ensimini yeParadeise. In the garden of paradise.

O montu oa tayuloa [21] *nke sefanegiso sa bane?*
Umuntfu wadzatshulwa [21] ngesifanekiso saßani?
According to whose likeness was man created?[21]

Oa tayuloa nke sefanegiso se Letongo.
Wadzatshulwa ngesifanekiso *selitfongo.*
He was created according to the likeness of God.

O montu a be a futisa ne Letongo nkani? [p. 3]
Umuntfu aße afutisa *nelitfongo* ngani?
In what respects was man made like God?

A be a fu̇tisa na eè nke goate, ne bocoenga, ne goenaba, na lo gongafigo.[22]
Aɓe afutisa naye (afuta yena) ngekwati, *neɓucwenga*, [ɓungcwele], nekwenaɓa, nalokungafi.[22]
He was made like Him in knowledge and holiness, and happiness and that which does not die[22] [immortality].

SEKAMO SE BOTATO.

Sigamu seɓutsatfu.
The third Chapter.

Sekulumo se go-ọa goe bantu ba ncanti e tonoeni.
Sikhulumo sekuwa kweɓantfu ɓa*ncanti* etonweni.
Speaking about the fall of first men into sin.

Onje batali be tu ba ncanti ba se ba tlala ba cenesile e goenabeni ne bocoengeni na?
Onje ɓatali ɓetfu ɓa*ncanti* ɓase ɓahlala ɓacinisile ekwenaɓeni *nebucwengeni* na?
Did our first parents already continue being strong in happiness and holiness?

Nco no, b'onile e Tongoeni; ba oe e bopuieni.
Ncono, ɓonile *etfongweni*; ɓawe eɓuphuyweni.
No, they sinned to God; they fell into poverty [misery].

G'ona go ine?
Kona kuyini? What is sin?

Go hoha[23] *lo gonye na lo gonye go e melaeo eè Letongo.*
Kuhhohha[23] lokunye nalokunye *kwemilayo* [imitsetfo] yelitfongo.
It is to transgress[23] several things of the law of God.

Konje, batali be tu ba ncanti, ba negioe o pe o molaeo Letongo e Paradeisi na?
Konje, ɓatali ɓetfu *ɓancanti*, ɓanikwe wuphi *umlayo litfongo* eParadeisi na?
What law was given to our first parents by God in paradise?

Oa ba laela ba nge te ba thla e matangatana eè moti oe goati na lo gotlhe na lo gobe.
Waɓalayela [kutsi] ɓangete ɓadla ematsangatana yemutsi [yesihlahla] wekwati nalokuhle nalokuɓi.
He commanded them [that] they should not eat the berries of the tree of knowledge of good and bad.

Ba o londa o molaeo loo na?
ɓaulondza *umlayo* lowo na? Did they keep that command?

Ha che;[24] *ba tlha e matangatana eè moti loò.*
Ashi;[24] ɓadla ematsangatana emutsi lowo.
Indeed not;[24] they ate the berries of that tree.

Onje, ba ti bitela bo pe o botima[25] e *tu goa bo ka le se ba sè onile na?*
Onje, ɓatiɓitela ɓu̇phi ɓutima[25] etu kwaɓo ngalesi ɓasonile na?
What[52] hardness [evil] did they call upon themselves with what they have sinned?

Ba cochioe e nsimine eè Paradeisi; ba pume ba ne mbalo, ne bothlungo, ne gofa.
Ɓacoshiwe ensimini yeParadeisi; ɓaphume ɓanembalo, neɓuhlungu, nekufa.
They were driven out of the garden of paradise, [and] they went out with guilt, and pain and death.

Konje, e sono [25] *sa bo se thlulela go la banye go ba visa botlhungo na?*
Konje, sono [25] saɓo sedlulela kulaɓanye kuɓavisa ɓuhlungu na?
Did their sin [25] pass on to others to let them feel pain?

E bo: tenthlobo tonke te bantu t'onioe nka so.
Yeɓo, tinhloɓo tonke teɓantfu toniwe ngaso.
Yes, all the kinds of people [mankind] was wronged by it.

Sa ba visa bothlungo njane? [p. 4]
Saɓavisa ɓuhlungu njani? How did it hurt them?

Tentlhobo tonke te bantu te taleloe e tonoeni, tentlitio ta bo te bolile ku logo; te gobegela e bobine
Tinhloɓo tonke teɓantfu titalelwe etonweni, tinhlitiyo taɓo tiɓolile kuloko; tikuɓekela eɓuɓini
All mankind was born in sins, their hearts are rotten in this; it puts you down in evil and they will

gotoa, ba ea go thlulega nke botlungo ne lofu.
kodvwa ɓaya kuhluleka ngeɓuhlungu nelufu.
be subjected to pain and sickness.

Ɓa ea taloa njane e tonnoei na?
Ɓa [ya] talwa njani etonweni na? How are they [men] born in sin?

Tena bantu sonke se taleloe e go-tikungebeteni, se ne lunye, se nk'a batandi be te lepansi, [26] *se nga se*
Tsine ɓantfu sonke sitalelwe ekutigunguɓeteni, sinelunya, singeɓatsandzi ɓemhlaɓa, singasiɓo
We all men were born in self-corruption, having selfishness, being lovers of the world, not being

bo batandi be Letongo.
ɓatsandzi *ɓelitfongo.*
lovers of God.

SEKAMO SE BONE.

Segamu seɓune.
The fourth Chapter.

Sekulumo se nthlengo ea bantu e tonoeni.
Sekhulumo senhlengo yeɓantfu etonweni.
Speaking of the redemption of men from sin.

Se londolotoe nku bane e tonoeni na?
Silondvolotwe nguɓani etonweni na?
By whom were we saved from sin?

Ku Yesu Kristi e Ntotana le nga na bopelo eè Letongo.
NguJesu Kristi indvodzana lenganaɓuphelo *yelitfongo.*
By Jesus Christ the son of God who is everlasting.

Yesu Kristi o entane go se londa na?
Jesu Kristi wentani kusilondza na?
What does Jesus Christ do to save us?

O entioa o montu, oa banteteloa nk'o gofa [27] *e ntaoeni e tu; oa boea a puma e lofine, oe nyogela*
Wentiwa umuntfu, waɓandzetelwa [ngu-] kufa [27] endzaweni yetfu; waɓuya aphuma elufini, wenyukela
He was made man and held by death [27] in our stead; he returned coming from death, and he ascended

etuloeni.
etulweni.
to heaven.

Se nke tutane nke bosilo ne gofa goa ke, lapa a se silela ne nka lapa a se fela nka kona na?
Singetfutsani ngeɓuphilo nekufa kwakhe, lapha asiphilela nangalapha asifela ngakhona na?
What can we gain by his life and death, where he lived for us and where he died for us?

Se nka tuta e ntetelelo eè tono, ne bocoenga be ntlitio, ne bo-thla-lefa be letulo.
Singatfutsa intsetselelo yetono *neɓucwenga* ɓenhlitiyo, neɓudlalifa ɓelitulu.
We may gain forgiveness of sin, and holiness of heart, and the inheritance of heaven.

Konje, o ea go londolota bantu bonke na?
Konje, uya kulondvolota ɓantfu ɓonke na?
Will He save all men?

Hai, la ba bibitegago e tonoeni ta bo; la ba koloago go eé, bona botoa la ba ea go londega.
Hhayi, laɓaɓiɓitsekako etonweni taɓo, laɓakholwako kuye, ɓona ɓodvwa laɓaya *kulondzeka* [sindza].
No, those who repent of their sins, those who believe in Him, they only will be saved.

Sebibito se e tono e ine na? [p. 5]
Siɓiɓitfo setono yini na?
What is repentance of sin?

Go va o bothlungo nke tono ta me, go te thlagatela, ne go te fulatela, ne go funa e ntetelelo ea to goe Letongo.
Kuva ɓuhlungu ngetono tami, kutihlakatela, nekutifulatsela, nekufuna intsetselelo yato kuNkulun-
It is to feel sorry for my sins, to confess [to] them, to turn the back on [forsake] them, and to seek

kulu.
forgiveness of them by God.

Go koloa go Kristi ku go enta njane na?
Kukholwa kuKristi kukwenta njani na?
What does the belief in Christ do to you?

Go amogela e mav' ake, ne go temba gofa goa ke gotoa, goba e ntengo le ngi tengile
Kwemukela emavi akhe, nekutsemba kufa kwakhe kodvwa, kuɓa [ngoɓa] intsengo lengi [yi] tsengile
It is to receive all words and to believe in [the merits of] his death only, because the ransom I paid

e bolondego.
iɓulondzeko [ingumsindziso].
is salvation.

Konje u n'kenta tonke le to u etoa na?
Konje ungenta tonke leto uwedvwa na?
But can you do all those [things] alone?

Gi nge ta [28] *ng'enta ngi ng'etoa, le fane* [29] *Letongo lea go ngi sita nke Moia oa ke lo Coengile, ana*
Ngingete ngenta ngingedvwa, lifane [29] litfongo liya kungisita ngemoya wakhe *locwengile*, ana
I cannot [28] do [it] alone, God will simply [29] help me with His holy spirit if

ng'o cela go eè.
ngiyocela kuye.
I will ask [of] Him.

Onje, la ba nga bibite sebibito se e tono ta bo, la ba nga te fulatele, na la ba nga koloe go
Onje, laɓangaɓiɓitsi siɓiɓitfo setono taɓo laɓangatifulatseli, nalaɓangakholwa ku-
But those who do not repent the repentence of their sin, who do not forsake it, and who do

Kristi go mo va; go ea go entoa njane go bo na?
Kristi kumuva, kuya kwentiwa njani kuɓo na?
not believe in Christ what will become of them?

Solo [30] *ba fago ba ea go cujugiseloa* [31] *e motibine oe molilo lo nga cimi.*
Solo [30] ɓafako ɓaya kuchuɓekiselwa [31] emdziɓini wemlilo longacimi.
When [30] they die they will be pushed [31] [cast] into the hole of fire which does not go out [hell].

SEKAMO SE BOHLANO.

Sigamu seɓuhlanu.
The fifth Chapter.

Sekulumo se goe letulo ne lehele.
Sikhulumo ngelitulu nelihhele.
Speaking about heaven and hell.

Lehele le ntao le njane na?
Lehhele li [i] ndzawo lenjani na?
What place is hell?

Le motibi lo monyama, lo nga na ntenti,[32] *lo coeb' o molilo ne e maye* [31] *la vutago le tioago e*
Limdzi6i"lomnyama, longana*ndzindzi,*[32] locwe6e umlilo nematshe [31] lavutsako latiwako [kutsi] isu-
It is a black hole, which has no [?] bottom,[32] which is full of fire and stones [31] which flame and which

sulufula.
lufula.
are known as sulphur [brimstone].

La babe ba ea go chochotelisoa njane kona?
La6a6i 6aya kushoshoteliswa njani khona?
How will the wicked be punished there?

E metimba ea bo ea gotontisoa nke molilo lo nga cime, e moia ea bo ea go kalisoa nke botugutelo 6e-
Imitimba ya6o iya kutontiswa ngemlilo longacimi, imoya yabo iya kukhaliswa nge6utfukutselo *6e-*
Their bodies will be burnt alive [tormented] by fire which does not go out, and their spirits will be made

Letongo.
litfongo.
to cry out by the wrath of God.

Tenkalemelo le to te nka ka nane na? [p. 6]
Tinkalimelo leto tingakanani na?
How long will those torments last?

Te nga pele, na ka lo gongantao.[33]
Tingapheli, *nangalokungandzawo* [33] [=Tingete taphela nakadzeni].
They will never end.

Solo [30] *lo lo* [34] *e makoloa e thlule e gofeni a to ea gope na?*
Solo [30] [na] emakholwa edlule ekufeni atoya kuphi na?
When [30] the believers have passed death where will they go?

Ato ea e tuloeni.
Atoya etulweni. They will go to heaven.

E tulo e ntao le njane na?
Litulu indzawo lenjani na?
What place is heaven?

E ntao ee nkanyo ne ee nkatimolo.
Indzawo yenkanyo neyenkatimulo.
It is a place of cleanliness and lustre [=glory and lustre].

La balungile ba ea go sila njane kona na?
La6alungile 6aya kuphila njani khona na?
How will the good ones live there?

Ba ea go tlala e gotabeni, ne gonabeni ka logo nga thlule.
Баya kuhlala ekutsaбeni nekunaбeni ngalokungadluli.
They will remain in joy and happiness for ever.

A ba ea [35] *go katatega kona na?*
Aбayi kukhatsatéka khona na?
Are they not going [35] to be worried [to suffer] there?

Nco no, ka ba soele loto kona, tono ne lofu a te ko lapo.
Ncono, kaбasweli lutfu khona, tono nelufu atikho lapho.
Indeed not, they need nothing there, sin and sickness is not there.

Ba ea go ba ne metimba le njane kona?
Баya kuба nemitimba lenjani khona?
What bodies will they have there?

Ba ea go ba ne metimba le nga fe, le fananago le motimba [36] *lo katimolago oa Yesu Kristi.*
Баya kuба nemitimba lengafi, lefanana (ko) nemtimba [36] lokhatimulako waJesu Kristi.
They will have bodies which do not die, which are like the glorious body of Jesus Christ.

Onje, ba pishega e ine kona na?
Onje, баphisheka [yi]ni khona na?
What are they serving there [=How are they employed there]?

Ba ea bonka Letongo, ba ea mopishegela, na kona be entelana tento le te vela e ntandanoeni.
Баyaбonga *Litfongo,* баyamphishekela, nakhona бentelana tintfo letivela entsandzanweni.
They are praising God and are serving Him, furthermore they do for one another things which come from mutual love [=acts of mutual love].

Konje, gi nka penduga gi be montu lo njane goba ngi te gi nkena e ntaoeni le eo, le
Konje, ngingaphendvuka ngiбe muntfu lonjani kuба ngite ngingene endzaweni leyo *le-*
How can I change and become [such] a person that I may enter in that place which is

coengile le nebego na?
cwengile leneбeko na?
holy and glorious?

Gi fanele gi conegege [37] *e ntlitioeni ne bosiloeni.*
Ngifanele ngiconekeke [37] enhlitiyweni nebuphilweni.
I must be [?] pure [37] in heart and life.

Go coengega e ntlitioeni e ine na?
Kucwengeka enhlitiyweni yini na?
What is holiness in the heart?

Go londolotoa e lolageni ne go tikabeseni, ne ntandoeni ee lepansi, ne e tonoeni le tenye;
Kulondvolotwa elulakeni nekutigabiseni, nentsandvweni *yeliphansi* (yemhlaba), netonweni letinye;
It is to keep from wrath and conceit, and love of the world, and from other sins; it is to love [27] God

ku go tanda [27] .. *Letongo nke ntlitio ea me e onke, ne naganyo, na nke moia, na nka mantla a onke*
[ngu] kutsandza [27] *litfongo* ngenhlitiyo yami yonke, nenakanyo, nangemoya, nangemandla [w]onke
with all my heart, and care, and with the spirit, and with all my power.

a me.
ami.

Go coengega e bosiloeni e ine na? [p. 7]
Kucwengeka ebuphilweni yini na?
What is holiness in life?

Go enta e nfanelo [38] *ea me e Tongoeni na go bantu nke leve le Letongo le le coengile.*
Kwenta imfanelo [38] yami *etfongweni* nakubantfu ngelivi *lelitfongo lelicwengile.*
It is to do my duty [38] to God and men with the word of God which is holy.

E nfanelo ea ko e Tongoeni e ine na?
Imfanelo yakho *etfongweni* yini na?
What is your duty to God?

E nfanelo ea me e Letongoeni go tabela e melaeoeni ea ke, go mo tlonepa, ne go mo nanatela.
Imfanelo yami *elitfongweni* kutsabela *emilayweni* yakhe, kumhlonipha, nekumnanatela.
My duty towards God is to be pleased in His laws, to honour Him and praise Him.

E nfanelo ea ko go bantu e ine na?
Imfanelo yakho kubantfu yini na?
What is your duty towards men?

E nfanelo ea me go bantu, go va tentaba te batali ba me; go be saba la ba kulo be seve, go kuluma e maceniso
Imfanelo yami kubantfu kuva tindzaba tebatali bami, kubesaba labakhulu besive, kukhuluma emaciniso
My duty towards men is to pay heed to the affairs of my parents, to honour the great ones of the nation,

nke maconke, go ba ne golunga ne mosa, na kona go bamba bantu bonke nke mohao.
ngemachi onke, kuba nekulunga nemusa, nakhona kubamba bantfu bonke ngemhawu.
to speak truth at all times, to have righteousness and pity, and also to treat all people with mercy.

U nka enta njalo njane na?
Ungenta njalo njani na? How can I do so?

Nke mohao oe Letongo.
Ngemhawu *welitfongo.* With the mercy of God.

O mohao loo e ine?
Umhawu lowo yini? What is that mercy?

Nk'e manthla e Moìa lo Coengile, la se kotalago [39] *go koloa, ne go tanda, ne go takasa e Tongoeni.*
Ngemandla eMoya loCwengile, lasikhutsalako [39] kukholwa, nekutsandza nekutsakasa *etfongweni.*
It is the power of the Holy Spirit, which enables [39] us to believe and to love and to rejoice in the Lord.

Go ea go enta njane go funa mohao loo na?
Kuya kwenta njani kufuna umhawu lowo na?
How will that mercy be found?

Nke go ti pishegela e tesitoeni te mohao.
Ngekutiphishekela *etisitweni* (etinsitweni) temhawu.
To make yourself subservient to the aid of mercy.

Tesito te mohao le te encisilego [40] *te te pe na?*
Tinsito temhawu letengcisile [40] titiphi na?
Which are the greatest [40] aids of mercy?

Tenkulegelo le te entioe nke nsete ne go bonagaleni, ne go penthla e Tepaloeni le te Coengile, go lalela tentaba
Tinkulekelo letentiwe ngense nekuɓonakaleni, nekuphendla etibalweni *leticwengile,* kulalela tindzaɓa
They are the prayers which are made in secret and in public, and to examine the holy books, to listen

te Letongo, le te kulunyoa Bafundisi; ne go tata e selalelo [41] *se Nkosi, ne go tila tethlo.*
telitfongo, letikhulunywa ɓafundzisi, nekutsatsa *silalelo* [41] seNkosi, nekutila tidlo.
to the affairs of God which are spoken by the teachers, and to obey [41] the Lord, and to abstain from food.

O mokristi lo monye na lo monye a ea go ti pishegela e tesitoeni te mohao ka nka ka nane na?
Umkristi lomunye nalomunye aya kutiphishekela etinsitweni temhawu kangakanani na?
How much must each Christian serve in the aid of mercy?

E gopeleni goe bosilo ba ke.
Ekupheleni kweɓuphilo ɓakhe. To the end of his life.

Kulegela e nkulegelo ee Nkosi. [p. 8]
Khulukela inkulekelo yeNkosi.
Pray the Lord's prayer.

O Babe [42] *oe tu lo se matuloeni, lebito la kò le ketoe ngeɓucoenga: A o te mbuso oa ko:*
ɓaɓe wetfu losematulweni, liɓito lakho likhetfwe *ngeɓucwenga;* A ute umɓuso wakho;
Our [42] Father who is in the heavens, Your name be it clected with holiness; let Your kingdom come;

E ntando ea ko e entioe pansi jenga e tuloeni: U se pe na mothla e senkua se tu sa le lenye lelanga
Intsandvo yakho yentiwe phansi njengetulweni; Usephe namuhla sinkwa setfu salelinye lilanga
Your will be done on earth as in heaven; give us this day our bread of each day

na le lenye: Kepa u se tetelele tehohego [23] *te tu, jenga goba na tse* [43] *sea tetelela la ba hohele* [23]
nalelinye; Kepha usitsetselele *tihhohheko* [23] tetfu, njengokuɓa natsi [43] siyatsetselela *laɓahhohhela* [23]
but forgive us our [?] debts,[23] just as we [43] forgive them that have debts [23] against

tena; Kepa u nga s'ise e molingoeni; u fane u se cante [44] *e bobine, goba mbuso nk'o a ko,* [45]
tsine; Kepha ungasisi emlingweni; ufane usicandze [44] eɓuɓini, kuɓa umɓuso ngewakho, [45]
us; but do not take us into temptation; deliver [44] us from evil, for the kingdom is Yours,

TENKATEKISEMI

TA LA

BAWESLEY METHODISTI:

TA PALIOA, TA

BANTETELOA, NKE O MOLAEO OE MBUTANO GE

BAFUNDISI LA BATALA

BA BO, LO TIJAGO

E KONFERENSI

Ta enteleloa be tentlu ta la Makoloa, ne be Tekolo le te fundisoa ba bo.

E NKATEKISEMI EA NCANTI.

NE E LUNGELELO

E na lenye e nkatekisemi le mfecha e Mabito la Tepalo le te Coengile: na to tenkulegelo.

TE PENDULOE NKE NKUĒUMO E PASOATI.

PLATBERG

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1846

O montu a bc a futisa ne Letongo nkane ?

A be a futisa na eé nke goate, ne bocoenga, ne goenaba, na lo gongafigo.

SEKAMO SE BOTATO.

SEKULUMO SE GO-OA GOE BANTU BA NCANTI E TONOENI.

Onje batali be tu ba ncanti ba se ba tlala ba cenesile e goenabeni ne bocoengeni na ?

Neo no, b'onile e Tongoeni ; ba oe e bopuieni.

G'ona go ine ?

Go hoha lo gonye na lo gonye go e melaeo eé Letongo.

Konje, batali be tu ba ncanti, ba negioe o pe o molaeo Letongo e Paradeisi na ?

Oa ba laela ba nge te ba thla e matangatana eè moti oe goati na lo gothle na lo gobe.

Ba o londa o molaeo loo na ?

Ha che ; ba thla e matangatana eé moti loò.

Onje, ba ti bitela bo pe o botima e tu goa bo ka le se ba se onile na ?

Ba cochioe e nsimine eè Paradeisi, ba pume ba ne mbalo, ne bothlungo, ne gofa.

Konje, e sono sa bo se thlulela go la banye go ba visa bothlungo na ?

E bo : tenthlobo tonke te bantu t'onioe nka so.

ne boncobo, *ne nkatimolo* *ka lo go-nga-ĩhlule.* *Amena.*
neɓuncoɓo, [nemandla], nenkatimulo ngalokungadluli.
and the power, and the glory for ever more.

The Lord's Prayer in modern Swazi:

Baɓe wetfu losematulwini, a lihlonishwe liɓito lakho; Umɓuso wakho a ute; intsandvo yakho a yentiwe emhlaɓeni njengasematulwini; Usiphe lamhla-nje sinkwa setfu semalanga onke; Usitsetselele imilandvu yetfu njengoɓa natsi siɓatsetselela laɓanemilandvu kitsi; Ungasingenisi ekulingweni kodvwa Usisindzise kulokuɓi, ngoɓa ngewakho umɓuso, nemandla neɓukhosi, kute kuɓe nini.

Kuluma tenthloko te nkolo ea ko lapa te suke kona.
Khuluma tinhloko tenkolo yakho lapha tisuke khona.
Speak the heads [? confessions] of your faith where they commence:

Gia koloa e Tongoeni nk'o Babe o Moncobi onke, o Menti oe letulo ne lepansi: Na go-Yesu Kristi
Ngiyakholwa *etfongweni* nguɓaɓe umncoɓi-onke, umenti welitulu *neliphansi*; nakuJesu Kristi
I believe in God the Almighty Father, the Maker of heaven and earth; and in Jesus Christ

e Ntotana ea ke e otoa, e Nkosi ye tu, le eo la emuloa[46] *nk'o Moia lo Coengile, la taloa*[47]
indvodzana yakhe yedvwa, inkosi yetfu, leyo leyemukwa[46] ngumoya locwengile, lowatalwa[47]
His only son, our Lord, who was conceived[46] by the Holy Ghost, who was born[47]

e Ntombi le nk'oMaria, la eva o botima e mbusoeni oe Pontio Pilati, la beteloe e sepambanoeni,
intfombi lenguMaria, loweva ɓutima emɓusweni waPontio Pilati, lowaɓetselwa esiphambanweni,
by the girl Mary, who felt trouble in the reign of Pontius Pilate, who was nailed to a cross,

la fa, la latloa, ea oga Hedisine, ea boea ea vuga e lofine nke lelanga le botato,
wafa, walahlwa; wewuka *ehedisini,* yaɓuya yavuka elufini ngelilanga leɓutsatfu,
and died and was buried, and descended into Hades, He again rose from death on the third day,

e eé nyogela e tuloeni, lap'a tletigo e santleni se gonene se Letongo o Babe o Moncobi-onke, kepa e ea
yenyukela etulwini, lapha ahleti esandleni sekunene *selitfongo,* uɓaɓe umncoɓi-onke, kepha iya
he ascended to heaven where he is sitting on the right hand of God, the Almighty Father, but he

go boe'a vele[48] *kona go athlula la be vago na la bafilego.*
kuɓuya avele[48] khona kwehlula laɓevako nalaɓafile.
will again appear[48] there to judge the living and the dead.

Gia koloa nke Moia lo Coengile, ne Mbutano eè Bothlaganiso,[49] *ne nkotano*[50] *ea*
Ngikholwa ngemoya locwengile, nemɓutsano *yeɓuhlakaniso,*[49] nenkotsano[50] *ya*
I believe in the Holy Ghost, and the assembly of [?][49] and the communion[50] of

la bacoengi, ne ntetelelo eè tono, ne nvuko[39] *eè motimba e gofeni, ne bosilo lo bongapele.*
laɓacwengi, nentsetselelo yetono, nemvuko[93] yemtimba ekufeni, neɓuphilo loɓungapheli.
saints, and the forgiveness of sins, and the resurrection[39] of the body from death, and everlasting life.
Amena.

II. NOTES

[1] The fact that *e* also represents the *i*<B.*i*, and that *o* also represents *u*<B.*u* (cf. Sotho *e* and *o*), may lead one to suppose that in old Swazi closed vowels, as in Sotho, were used. That closed vowels such as those of Sotho were used in old speech is quite likely, for I have often heard old Swazi's say *omu-* or *omo–* for the *umu–* class-prefix. Even in the Inkqwala songs these sounds are encountered.

[2] The Swazi relative and adjectival concord which commences in *l–* (*lo–*, *lomu–*, *laba–*, etc.) is here very much in evidence. Occasionally the Zulu-like forms are encountered.

[3] *p* represents modern aspirated *ph* or the semi-voiced *b*. As regards aspiration one finds some dialectical variations of Swazi which employ very slight aspiration.

The passive *–ioa* (*–iwa*) with dissyllabic verbs is here often found. In modern speech very occasionally with old people.

[4] *b* represents implosive *ɓ*; *nt* represents *nt* and *ndz*; *t* represents ejective *t* or *ts* (aspirated *tsh*).

[5] (a) *molaeo* (umlayo) reminds one of Sotho *molao*, a derivation from the verb *–laya* (admonish); modern *umlayetelo*, *umtsetfo*.

(b) *nk* here stands for modern *ŋ*; old people still use *nk*; note the different ways *ngi-* (I) are spelt (*gi*, *ngi*, *nki*).

(c) *nke o moleo* for *ŋemlayo* is an example of the Swazi characteristic called "substitution of e" as often encountered in the present translation; the retention of the initial vowel (here *o*) of the noun, encountered often, but not always, cannot be explained.

[6] Similar forms where another vowel before a vowel verb is not dropped as in modern speech is a regular feature of this translation. It might be that the vowel as retained in very old speech.

[7] *tl* and *thl* represent modern *hl* and *dl* but are confused with one another.

[8] The stem *–ncanti* is still encountered in *mkhulumncanti* (the first forefather), *lisokancanti* (the first born son). It is noteworthy that the clicks are represented by *c*, *nc*, and *q*. Even to-day clicks are very much confused in Swazi.

[9] Derived from *–lungelela* (make to fit). Cf.[6] in connection with substitution of *e*; here the second *e* is superfluous.

[10] *ch* (*tʃh*) is modern *sh* (*ʃ*).

[11] *–cwenga* or *–cenga* (pour out the excessive water from food) is here used to express "holy"; the Zulu *–ngcwele* is nowadays employed.

[12] *k* represents voiced *g* and aspirated *kh*, while *g* represents *k* or initial *ŋg*, modern *ŋ* (*ng*).

[13] *se goe* (*sekwe–*) seems to be two inexplicable successive possessive concords. Similar forms are encountered more than once.

[14] the word *letongo* (cf. Zulu) is no longer known in Swazi. It is here used for "God". I retain the word as *litfongo* so as not to change the concords to those of *unkulunkulu* or *umkhulumncanti*, the modern words for "God".

[15] *le tangete tentao tonke* is supposed to mean "He is everywhere"; the nearest transcription once can make is *lita ngetindzawo tonke* (he comes with all places).

[16] The literal translation is given in these and similar forms. These forms are evidently meant to represent the so called "relative construction" (*lesitikhumbulako nalesitentako*) used with an objectival concord; these forms are the original of this type of construction in which the demonstrative is followed by the participial mood (cf. Sotho and Tsonga).

[17] *goba* could either be *kuba* or *ngoba*.

[18] *e m'pefumolo oe* should be *o mpefumolo oe* (*umphefumulo we–*) or else *e m'pefumolo ee* (*imiphefumulo ye–*).

[19] *–sila*, and its nominal derivations, is archaic for *–phila* (live); *ßuphilo* is retained although modern speech would prefer *impilo* (life).

[20] Several compounds are used to convey "for ever"; modern speech would prefer *nanini*.

[21] *y* seems to represent *tsh* (*tʃ'*), occasionally *j* (*dʒ*).

[22] Modern speech no longer employs the participial suffix *–ko* with a negative verb.

[23] This word is no longer known; modern *–hhohha* means "bring to a standstill, as inspanned oxen" which is evidently not the meaning here.

[24] A term still used by old people.

[25] In modern speech the initial vowel of the class prefix is found with nasal classes only; here it is occasionally found with non-nasal classes too.

[26] *be te lepansi* (for *ßeteliphansi*), cf. [13], seems to have two possessive concords; *liphansi* (*lepansi*) was coined to convey "earth", (*umhlaßa*).

[27] This is a copulative form no longer used, cf. Zulu.

[28] Note the deficient verb with final *–a*.

[29] Note the deficient verb *–fane* (simply) being separated from the main verb by the noun subject.

[30] *Solo* means "since" in modern speech.

[31] *cujugiselwa* is the palatalized passive form (*chutshekiselwa*), note *cuju–*, not *cuje–* in the original.

[32] *ntenti* is not known.

[33] Should have been *na-nga-loku-nga-na-ndzawo* (and with that which has no place).

[34] One cannot explain *lo lo*.

[35] The only example of a negative verb not ending in *–i*.

[36] Although *na–* (and) is mostly used the dialectical *la–* is also come across.

[37] The word is unknown.

[38] One would hardly believe that *nf* and *nv* were not pronounced *mf* and *mv* respectively.

[39] *–khutsala* (diligent).

[40] *–engcisa* (surpass).

[41] *selalelo* (*silalelo*) from *–lalela* (listen, obey) could only be translated by a verb.

[42] The initial *o* is probably meant to be an interjection (oh!).

[43] The word *tse* (*–tsi* say) appears as such later in the translation, while here *tse* (*–tsi* we) is also written with the *s*; why *ts* was written only in these two instances remains a mystery, *ts* being such a conspicuous characteristic of Swazi.

[44] *–candza* (cleave).

[45] *nk'o a ko* for *ngowakho* is to-day regarded as Zulu, Swazi *ngewakho*.

[46] *–emula* might have been the transitive form of the modern *–emuka* (receive).

[47] The concord *la* used in this part of the translation is quite unlike any concord in modern Swazi which would suit this construction.

[48] Again the concords are confused.

[49] This might stand for *ßuhlanganiso*<*–hlanganisa* (cause to meet one another); the modern Methodist Catechism has "the Holy Catholic Church" for this part. The concord *eé* (ye–) is wrong.

[50] *nkatano* (*inkotsano*) a derivation from *–khotsana* (lick one another) represents "communion".

NOTES ON THE POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF THE KABOMPO DISTRICTS AND ITS INHABITANTS

C. M. N. WHITE

SYNOPSIS

The Kabompo district in the north-west of Northern Rhodesia is to-day largely peopled by Lwena, Luchazi and Chokwe who have moved in from Angola within the last thirty years. Their political and territorial organization in Angola is contrasted with the present organization of the Manyinga Native Authority in the Kabompo district in the light of the history of the chieftainship of Sikufele, the senior Native Authority of the area. The immigrant tribes have progressively acquired more and more effective political control of the area without evicting the Sikufele chieftainship and the latter has evolved to meet changing conditions. The result to-day is partly a result of re-organization by the Central Government and partly the result of the influence of the relatively egalitarian immigrants. The area presents a uniquely interesting example of the interaction of an indigenous chieftainship with an almost wholly non-indigenous population and present day government policy in building up local government in Native Authority areas.

I. GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Geographical

The Kabompo district of Northern Rhodesia comprises areas formerly included in the Balovale and Mwinilunga districts lying between 23°30′ and 3°30′ East and 13° and 14° South, covering some 5000 square miles in all. The whole area consists of Isoberlinia paniculata-Brachystegia woodlands on Kalahari sands with considerable blocks of Cryptosepalum woodlands known locally as mavunda. Most rivers run through broad shallow treeless flood plains, the Kabompo itself with steep wooded banks being an exception. Most of these rivers on account of their flood plains have no perennial tributaries, and this has an important effect on the distribution of population which is concentrated in a ribbon fashion along the banks of the larger streams and rivers with permanent water.

The average altitude is about 3500 feet varying but little over the whole area; no meteorological data are as yet available but from readings taken at the nearest recording stations of Mwinilunga and Balovale, the seasonal rainfall is likely to be about 45 inches falling between mid October and mid April.

Historical

Prior to 1920 the Kabompo district was almost uninhabited. About 1830 after the Makololo invasion of Barotseland some Mbunda refugees took refuge east of the Manyinga river, finding there only a few Nkoya villages. They took these under their control, and established the headquarters of their leader Sikufele at what they called the Lukwakwa. After the expulsion of the Makololo many of the Mbunda returned, but not the Sikufele family who remained at the Lukwakwa. Sikufele Lufiso who suceeded to

the title about 1885 was in 1910 ordered by the administration to move west of the Manyinga into the Barotse province, and in 1912 he was again moved further west by Government to the Mombeji river. In 1916 he was killed by lightning when on his way to mourn the death of Lewanika.

He was succeeded by a younger brother Namiluko, of headstrong character, who adopted a truculent attitude to the Barotse authorities and Mongu; in 1923 he was charged by the Mongu *kuta* with trying to secede from Barotse rule by seeking permission to remove back into Mwinilunga; he was deposed and ordered to live near Mongu, but given permission to return home to collect his goods and family. On his return to the Mombeji he found much popular support and decided to ignore the judgement and orders of the Mongu authorities. Armed messengers from Balovale, Mwinilunga and Kasempa were sent to arrest him but he escaped and took refuge in Angola. The Lozi then appointed Imasiku to go and take over the Manyinga area previously controlled by Sikufele.

In 1926 Lozi indunas were sent to assist Imasiku, who was locally known as Sasa. In 1928 Sikufele Namiluko died at his exile in Angola. In 1929 Imasiku Sasa died and was succeeded by another Lozi appointee Njamba Ilukui, a cousin of the paramount chief.

Sikufele Mubiwa had succeeded the deceased rebel in 1928 and in 1932 he came to visit the paramount chief during the latter's visit to Balovale and was allowed to settle on the Katuba and later when he had shown himself true to his undertaking to behave well, he was in 1935 given a court and recognized as a subordinate authority.

This was the history of the Sikufele chieftainship prior to the Macdonnel commission; it is set out in some detail to show that Sikufele was, prior to his exile in 1923, the ruler of this area for good historical reasons, subject only to the paramount chief at Mongu for control; secondly so far from being in league with the Lozi, the Sikufele family was in fact a rebellious group who resented Lozi authority.

In 1916 Mbunda with some Luchazi support in Angola revolted against Portuguese rule. Their revolt was badly organized and, apart from killing a few Portuguese traders and sacking their stores, it did little damage. It had been directly inspired by the slightly earlier revolt of the Ovakwanyama in South Angola, a conservative cattle-owning people whose revolt was more effective and troublesome. So far as can be ascertained, the Mbunda Luchazi revolt took place with the knowledge that the Ovakwanyama had revolted but without knowing that they had been put down. It appears that the Mbunda rebels were constantly expecting help from the Ovakwanyama and that the Ovakwanyama had sent them emissaries urging them on to this end. The revolt was quickly suppressed and reprisals taken which unfortunately affected many of the innocent as well as the guilty and great numbers of Luchazi moved into Northern Rhodesia, coming mainly down the Lungwevungu valley.

Such Portuguese sources as I have been able to consult seem to make it clear that the Luchazi were not the prime movers of the revolt, hence their decision to remove from what were unjust reprisals is not surprising. By 1920 a large body of them under Kalunga had settled near to Lukulu but failing to get on with Liatitima they moved further north and were allowed by Sikufele to settle on the Chikonkwelo in the Manyinga district. However soon after this the quarrel of Sikufele with the paramount chief arose; hence the years from 1920 onwards when large numbers of Luchazi immigrants were coming in belong historically mainly to the period of Lozi rule under Imasiku.

Other immigrants who came in during this period were some Lwena (Lovale), who came partly from Angola and partly from West Balovale. About 1928 Chokwe immigration commenced, and soon after some Ovimbundu. The Chokwe were partly in the earlier period of their coming, people dissatisfied with Portuguese rule but later Chokwe and most Ovimbundu were mainly actuated by economic motives rather than persecution, and came from along the Lobito railway line.

At the present day the flow of immigrants from Angola is a mere trickle, mainly of relatives

of people already settled in Northern Rhodesia. There is no doubt that the main flow of refugees finished a good many years ago; in addition it seems clear that on a more critical weighing of conditions, many of the immigrants are not so certain that British territory is in fact a haven of rest in comparison with Angola. There are sharp comments made on British racial prejudice as compared with Angola, and so far as economic opportunities for skilled artisans are concerned in urban areas, most of the earlier immigrants of this class have found that the Belgian Congo offers a better market for their skills.

How far the future will bring a steady flow of immigrants from Angola depends on a variety of factors, not least of which is doubtless the progress made in rural development in the Kabompo area, but it is at least quite certain that there is no longer any reason to contemplate a continuous increase through grievances against Portuguese administration.

General background of the immigrants

It is with these immigrant peoples that the present notes are concerned for they comprise 95 per cent of the population of the Kabompo district. Their cultural affinities are all to the north west in Angola and the Belgian Congo, and in many ways they have little in common with other tribes in Northern Rhodesia. These affinities are all exhibited in material culture, religious beliefs, geographical associations, linguistic characteristics and oral traditions. The Luchazi, Lovale, Chokwe and Ovimbundu immigrants in effect are the Kabompo district. The immigrant communities have distinguished themselves as agriculturalists in recent years. They are energetic cultivators and many of them have learned from their Portuguese culture contacts the outlook of the European peasant that agriculture is the foundation of life and is also a source of profit when a cash crop is available. A number of them have gone further and acquired more special accomplishments such as the ability to graft citrus. How far their desire to grow cash crops is due also to a particularly strong economic outlook, it is more difficult to say, but there is no doubt that this outlook is highly developed in many of them as witness their enthusiasm for trade and commerce in any form. Village stores and hawkers are numerous amongst these tribes and someone aptly referred to them as the Phoenicians of Northern Rhodesia. The far-ranging Lovale or Chokwe traders who reach the railway line and beyond are in fact carrying on the tradition of the trading caravans of the last three centuries, the influence of which on the tribes of Angola I have tried to trace in a paper to be published shortly, "The Historical Background of the Balovale Tribes".

Because of this economic outlook, a moneyed economy is strongly established in this rural area; some of the 35 per cent of the migrant taxable males never cultivate themselves, but buy food with their savings when they return from the urban areas. Specialization is well developed and bricklayers, carpenters, tailors, shoe repairers, pot menders, and growers of European vegetables all manage to make a living locally. Cattle are not kept as a form of investment although the area is largely free from tsetse but they are often bought in Barotseland, trekked back and butchered for money.

It is worth remarking that under local custom each man is entitled to such agricultural land as he requires, and although this rule obviously was created in days of subsistance agriculture and did not envisage large scale farming, it still applies, no case has arisen where a man has been told he was using too much land, and litigation over land never comes into the Native courts. There is nothing to suggest that a few individuals are working an overlarge amount of land, the largest individual garden measured being about ten acres, and it is probably the high price of groundnuts, and the fact that most people who belong to the upper stratum economically rely on trade in other forms as well as agriculture for their incomes which has tended to prevent the growth of a definite class of large farmers. The masses of small holders make a good living from cultivating saleable surpluses of their crops, whilst the few hundred well to do men undoubtedly draw

their main 'wealth from business in a much wider sense.

The latest available population figures give a total of some 33,000 for the area, about 6·5 per square mile, but as already remarked, its distribution is controlled by existing water supplies and actual density in the settled areas ranges from 100 to 400 per square mile and the figure of 6·5 is merely a mathematical product with no relation to actual human facts.

The succeeding pages will, it is hoped, show that the immigrant communities are and always have been characterized by independence and individualism in their outlook on life as a whole. This is reflected in many ways such as the manner in which for many years the old ten tax-payers rule has been circumvented and the creation of what amounts to a form of the parish system as far as separate settlements are concerned well in advance of government having sponsored the parish system. Many aspects of political and social organization equally reflect this feature.

So many modern social studies appear to reach the conclusion that fifty years of British rule in Central Africa is usually as many years of disintegration without much reintegration. For that reason it seems essential to point out that many of these immigrants have a background of over three hundred years of European cultural infiltration through the Portuguese in Angola; acculturation started in this way long before British rule started in Northern Rhodesia, and it was a longer, more subtle and more intimate process than has happened when a tribe of primitives suddenly found itself with a Boma and an official precipitated into their midst, perhaps fifty years ago. Right through history culture contacts have always had a stimulating effect and there is no reason to doubt that the immigrants of Kabompo owe their greatest debt to Diogo Cao who more than four hundred and fifty years ago first set foot on the shores of Angola.

II. POLITICAL AND TERRITORIAL ORGANIZATION

Traditional Organization of the Immigrants

The immigrant tribes have of course never lived under their traditional political system in Northern Rhodesia since they came into a country ruled by first Sikufele and later a Lozi *kuta*. It is however necessary to consider what in fact their original organization was.

The Luchazi in Angola were people who have always lived a rather roving existance; earlier traveller's writings refer to this, and Arnot mentions how they might be found settled in a spot on one occasion and a year or two later had vanished. No doubt this way of life greatly facilitated their mass movement into Northern Rhodesia. These wandering Luchazi bands were attached to some single person, very often the elder recognized as head of the kinship group living together, or in rarer cases some individual who for personal reasons had succeeded in gathering a larger following about him. There was no centralized authoritarian chieftainship, or hierarchy of lesser and greater chiefs. It is hardly necessary to stress the obvious conclusion which must be drawn from the fact that many thousands of Luchazi have moved into Northern Rhodesia but none among them who is a generally recognized chief. True one or two individuals have styled themselves chiefs and received some encouragement in the past from the administration due to a belief that all African societies would have some positive authoritarian system of their own. Luchazi like Samuzimu, now in Mankoya, Kasaka at Balovale or Kalunga in the Kabompo district owed their position in the first place to their predecessor's personality having obtained him a following, and their own status to-day to the Native Authorities Ordinance.

The Lwena (Lovale) on the other hand have evidently always had a nominally authoritarian system of chiefs; as early as 1800 Portuguese

sources mention Kakenge as head of the Lovale tribe as indeed he is to-day. But Lovale chieftainship was impaired as a political instrument by the rules of succession. Their matrilineal succession permitted both nieces and nephews to succeed to chieftainship and as the basis of such a succession implies that it is a woman who transmits the status, the sons and daughters of a female chief themselves automatically derived royal status from their royal mother although they could not at any rate in the distant past automatically succeed her. Hence the Lovale were in a constant state of political fission for the royal children would grow up and their mother was then obliged to give them both land and people, as epitomized in the Lovale proverb: "Two lions cannot drink from the same well." Effective control among the Lovale as among the Luchazi thus resided in very small groups; one might say that the result of this constant fission was merely that small groups of Lovale had an automatic head in the form of a hereditary *mwangana* whereas with the Luchazi the small groups had a purely temporary head from time to time resting upon individual personality. The Lovale may have in theory had a stronger political structure since it was ultimately authoritarian and not egalitarian but the practical differences were slight.

The Lovale *vamyangana* spent most of their time either intriguing against each other or robbing slaves from each other to sell to the Ovimbundu traders. Kakenge though traditionally their superior authority appears to have owed this mainly to the historical accident that he could claim descent from the so called founder of the Lovale, Ndalamuhitanganyi. His control was never effective; when the Lunda-Lovale war occurred about 1890, and the Lozi intervened to help the Lunda, Kakenge appealed to various Lovale subordinates to help but a number declined to do so because of their recent squabbles with him.

It is perhaps unnecessary to elaborate further the lack of any traditional centralized political structure among the immigrant peoples. Such evidence as exists shows that the structure of the Chokwe was much the same as that of the Luchazi with an absence of authoritarian chiefs. The Ovimbundu certainly had what were known as *olosoma* which it is customary to translate as chiefs, but the various chiefdoms of the Ovimbundu seem to have been all independent and autonomous. It seems probable that originally the political structure of the Ovimbundu was also like that described above and that certain individuals who did establish a predominance from time to time owed their power to the fact that they or their predecessors were temporarily powerful for purely personal reasons when they first made contact with Portuguese trading interests and subsequently established themselves with Portuguese support. The matter is of mainly academic interest since Portuguese administration early destroyed any power that the Ovimbundu chiefs had, and only a few of them are even remembered to-day because of particular incidents in which they are associated, such as Ekovongo and Ekwikwi. The last who seems to be mentioned as of any fame was Njamba-yemina (literally the pregnant elephant!) who was exiled to the Cape Verde Islands about 1903 after a small revolt.

It will suffice then to say that although the various immigrant groups varied somewhat as regards their traditional political structure, none of them had any strongly centralized authoritarian structure such as we are used to seeing among the Bemba or Lozi. This has a distinct bearing on future events and amongst other things serves to offer a foundation for all other forms of individualism.

Political Organization within Kabompo district

Prior to the flight into exile of Sikufele Nàmiluko in 1923 there is little detailed information available. Before British administration was established and whilst the Sikufele family were still at the Lukwakwa east of the Manyinga they gave recognition to an Nkoya, Kangombe as subordinate. He was left behind when the administration moved Sikufele into the Barotse province and in 1936 he elected to join the Lunda treasury as a temporary arrangement when Native Treasuries

were established after having objected that he was not by rights a subordinate of either the Lunda or Ndembo authorities at Mwinilunga.

After 1923 a Lozi *kuta* with Lozi indunas was established known as the Manyinga *kuta* and similar to other Lozi *kutas* in Barotseland. The immigrant population was not represented upon it.

After the excision of Balovale from Barotseland the Manyinga *kuta* remained. During the dispute between Lozi and Lunda and Lovale which led to the Macdonnel commission the Manyinga area remained aloof and took no part in the political troubles. However at government instigation the *kuta* membership was expanded to include representatives of the immigrants. These members of the immigrants were in effect tribal indunas who were responsible for the affairs of their own specific tribes, and they had to live at the *kuta*. This scheme may have been operated by the Lozi authorities after the analogy of the Lozi Makolo system, since the various tribal elements were not concentrated solely in single geographical areas, and so no non-Lozi councillor could get a concentrated local following to enable him to combine against the *kuta* head, Imasiku. In litigation these tribal indunas commonly disposed of cases affecting their own tribesmen single handed. But real executive power remained concentrated in Lozi hands and it was not long before the situation deteriorated. The Lozi indunas especially the Ikanjiwa, or head councillor made little effort to work with the immigrant councillors. Eventually the immigrants exposed numerous cases of peculation by the Ikanjiwa who was obliged to return to his home at Kalabo. In 1945 after a period of direct rule since the excision from Barotseland, Imasiku decided to abdicate and returned to Mongu

A referendum of village heads was then held to ascertain whether there was any strong objection to the restoration of Sikufele to his traditional position and he obtained a vote of confidence from all with no dissenters. This referendum was largely held because of Lunda claims to the Manyinga area and it was desired to ascertain whether Shinde would in fact be preferred to Sikufele. After the restoration the *kuta* composition remained principally in Mbunda hands, but their closer tribal affinities with the immigrants lessened the chances of friction and the system of tribal indunas which was not popular because it savoured of divide and rule in immigrant eyes was abandoned.

Even so the immigrant elements still lacked a feeling that their interests were adequately represented, a feeling which was increased by several trivial but irritating acts of nepotism on Sikufele's part. In 1948 when further reforms of local government were initiated by Government, it was agreed that all the councillors of the Manyinga authority should be nominated as candidates by any of the community resident and the final councillors then chosen by popular ballot. The first elections held on these lines resulted in excellent councillors being elected and must be considered to have been successful. The effect has been to give a positive de jure effect to what was already an accomplished fact, in that Sikufele has become a constitutional monarch and political and executive power has passed to his council.

There is no doubt that this was already an accomplished fact in actuality before this reform, since Sikufele without popular support of the masses could do nothing, and the population had already demonstrated this by getting rid of first Imasiku's dishonest head councillor and later Imasiku himself. Nevertheless as long as officially the council consisted of Sikufele's nominees the situation must have remained unsatisfactory, especially as regards dealings with the central government which was bound to deal with the chief and council on official matters. The present reforms have now removed any remaining dissatisfaction on these grounds.

The territorial organization

Prior to 1923 it appears that Sikufele was the head of the area then placed under him which later became the area of the Manyinga native authority. During the period of Lozi *kuta* rule before 1941, there were four *lilalo*, the Lozi Imasiku and three Mbunda, Sikufele, Chiyengele

and Bulamitata, the three latter being descendents of the refugees from the Makololo invasion. Changes were made in 1941 when the term *lilalo* was dropped and the various chiefs treated as Native Authorities. They were then also increased by two, an Nkoya Mutinginyi and a Luchazi Kalunga. In 1944 further reorganization resulted in recognition being withdrawn from Bulamitata and Mutinginyi. The present organization of the Manyinga Native Authority consists of Sikufele with two subordinates Kalunga and Chiyengele. Sikufele is by right the "king of the whole area and his two subordinates perform supervisory duties in their respective areas allotted to them. As explained above this means in effect that the administration of the whole area is now vested in an elected council since Sikufele is too well aware of the precarious nature of his tenure as far as popular support goes to risk any demonstrations of absolute sovereignty.

Sikufele's part in the present Administration

Despite the fact that Sikufele is no longer an effective sovereign he still plays a very important role in the local political structure. He serves to bind together the various immigrant tribes by providing a source of common allegiance. There is I think no doubt that this common allegiance is not in any sense to Sikufele or his heirs and successors by reason of their hereditary status. It is due to the fact that the immigrants regard Sikufele as the symbol of the British administrative system which in the eyes of the immigrants insists upon a titular head for a Native Authority.

In addition land rights are still derived in theory from Sikufele. It is he who is the owner of the land and he has an obligation to provide agricultural land for anyone to whom he grants permission to settle in the realm; occasionally he withdraws this permission and expells a bad character. This happened twice in 1948 but in each case it is noted that it was the council which in fact acted. But this authority is limited to the withdrawal of the right to live in the country. The man so expelled is entitled to sell and take the money realized on his houses and crops. This was not however recognized as the case in the past. That these chiefly functions have also in fact been delegated to the council for practical purposes was again shown in 1948 when Samuzimu, a Luchazi recognized in Mankoya as a chief applied to live in the Manyinga area. He visited Sikufele's capital but was only granted audience with the council and not with the chief, and his application was rejected. The council's decision was reported to the chief but in all such cases the chief does not and evidently could not at any time actually over rule his council.

Popular pressure has curtailed Sikufele's rights in a variety of other ways. Unlike the Lozi theory that the ownership of the country is the basis of rights to tribute, the immigrants insist that their *likoji* (friendly feelings) towards Sikufele are the basis for any gifts which he receives. Although tribute is not recognized as a right, Sikufele does receive considerable gifts in kind. But the Manyinga Treasury has to undertake financial responsibility for the feeding of visitors to the capital. It must be pointed out that Sikufele cannot maintain any financial predominance over the rest of the population for a number of the richer immigrants who are traders or artisans are much richer and have a higher standard of living than he has. During the final period of Imasiku's rule before his abdication, the immigrants witheld all gifts or tribute as a mark that he was no longer acceptable.

Sikufele is likewise not regarded as a source of law; the Manyinga court flourishes to-day and is well patronized because it applies the customary law of the immigrants. It did not flourish under the Lozi rule of Imasiku when Lozi law was applied and only a third of the present court work was transacted there. Most of the immigrant communities in their own traditional background did not take their cases to a centralized judiciary because there was no more a centralized judiciary than there was any centralized political system. Cases were settled by the family or between families and if they failed, then recourse was had to the feud. Domestic cases particularly those concerning adultery, divorce and debt are still very commonly settled out of court or only re-

ported to the court after all formalities are over. The present popularity of the Manyinga court which heard over 600 cases in 1948 may be largely ascribed to its administering the law of the people who use the court. It is also probable that more and more the Manyinga court is regarded as in fact a part of the British legal system to which all but the most serious cases are taken in the first instance. An intermediate step interposed in fact between arbitration in the village and the District Officer's subordinate court. It must be remembered that there are no native courts in Angola; cases are settled in the family or village as mentioned above or else they go direct to the Boma which tries them according to Portuguese law. The Manyinga court has therefore no roots in traditional tribal background, it is a centralized legal institution created by a European administration which however administers local customary law. The Lozi *kuta* under similar conditions had no support for it was neither European nor local in its foundation and as such was regarded as something to be sidetracked.

The village as a unit

Among the old Mbunda who follow the Lozi custom of building on the Manyinga plain there are traces of groups not living as a territorial unit but in separate settlements with an attachment to Sikufele or other old Mbunda at the capital. These non-territorial units with an attachment to an individual at the capital are found only on the Manyinga plain and one or two other places where the Sikufele family has resided. Otherwise the village unit plays no part in political organization and is a purely social group.

In the past immigrants from Angola were not allowed to be registered with their own villages; they were registered in an existing village in the census book. This was partly because many immigrants could not conform to the ten taxpayers rule, but more particularly because it was supposed that the immigrants would thus be introduced to British methods of administration more easily. As a result they were registered nominally under an existing headman but in fact built their own villages. Later some of them were formally registered with their own villages. This has given rise to numbers of administrative villages and administrative headmen. The administrative village is commonly called *ndandanda* and the administrative headman has no title in local languages and is sometimes called an induna for want of a better title and sometimes a chief. It is a common thing on applications for identity certificates from the railway line to see the name of an administrative headman quoted in the space for the chief's name. These administrative villages consist in fact of a number of natural villages (*membo*), and the group of included natural villages will comprise some related *inter se* and others quite unrelated. As a result the administrative headman quite naturally knows only those persons who are in fact related to him and is usually quite ignorant about the rest. Nor has he any effective authority over the villages written under him but not in fact peopled by his kinsmen. Hence the complaints not infrequently voiced in the past that the immigrants are an undisciplined people with no respect for their headmen! In recent years the administrative village has become obsolete as a policy but has remained as a convention because with the growth of individualism more and more people are building on their own, even those who build in villages no longer always follow their traditional ties in chosing with whom they will build and the registration under a given name in the census has become merely a convenient means of identification and reference under which to pay taxes or obtain identity certificates.

Effects of political changes

Although the present political and territorial organization is largely the outcome of Government intervention, it would be an error to ignore the important part which local demands have made in determining its course. It was the immigrants themselves and not the European administration which decided that the Lozi Manyinga *kuta* must go; unlike the situation in Barotseland where the immigrants are opposed by a strongly entrenched and numerically appreciable Lozi

ruling class, the immigrants in Kabompo found an isolated Lozi *kuta* which could not get support from anywhere. Lozi political genius did not rise to the occasion this time and Imasiku departed. His successor Sikufele was likewise isolated for though a chief in his own right in the area he had but a handful of followers of his own Mbunda and no treaty upon which to fall back if pressure became too intense, hence he saw the writing on the wall and accepted changes which popular opinion demanded.

Of the immigrants in Barotseland I have no first hand experience but from both Mwinilunga and Balovale it is interesting to observe the tensions which arise between them and any authoritarian tribe with a centralized chieftainship. The Lunda at Mwinilunga would not for the most part consent to any of these immigrant tribes settling their country though they did in fact infiltrate up the Kabompo valley. More striking is the situation in the Lunda part of Balovale where the Lunda native authority has a population of which about half are in fact immigrants. It is the latter who are the wealthy productive element in the population, whereas it is the Lunda who claim all privilege as a right of birth. To-day with the Lunda element becoming more and more an impoverished and backward aristocracy whilst the immigrants are rich and progressive, tension is pronounced and usually takes the form of vigorous Lunda flag waving to remind the rest of the world that it is the Lunda who are by tradition the rightful authorities.

A feature of the immigrants in the Kabompo area is the striking capacity which they have shown for developing cohesion amongst themselves to secure their objectives. This must be considered to have derived much force from their Portuguese culture contacts under an administration which aimed at creating non-tribal Portuguese Africans with no legally reserved place for African institutions. As a result the immigrants have shown no tendency to revert to their traditional political structures. But the fact that such leaders as they had in the past owed their position to personal qualities and not to hereditary status has made them quick to adopt the idea of electing a council of members chosen for their personal merits as they in fact did last year.

It is a common place that rural native authorities are generally faced with a problem of trying to preserve the impression of being based on traditional authority whilst they introduce a sufficient element of progress to enable them to function on modern lines. This is not a problem which faces the Manyinga Native Authority. Its council has no necessity of trying to prove itself composed of traditional authorities since the population have no such traditional authorities and have shown that they will not tolerate a clique which uses this as an excuse to set itself up as happened with the Lozi *kuta*. So long as the council is composed of persons who are there because of their personal merits, it will be sure of popular support because these are the only persons who ever excercised authority among the immigrants in their own areas before they entered this territory.

TRADITIONAL SYSTEMS OF MALE EDUCATION AMONG PEDI AND COGNATE TRIBES

G. M. PITJE

PART III

BOXWÊRA[1]

THIS SESSION is completely ignored by Roberts and Winter whose account stops at the *Bodika*. On the other hand Harries dismisses it in about one and half pages. I therefore made personal observations and recorded accounts from informants.

The primary aim of the *Boxwêra* is "to create a lasting bond of friendship among the initiated men". That is, it emphasizes the difference in social status between initiated men on the one hand and the rest of the community on the other. When they emerge from this school they will be expected to join the men's fire at the entrance of the kraal, "because they will have formally been admitted into the society of men". Thus one is inclined to agree with Eiselen[2] when he says: "The most remarkable fact about the sacred fire is that it segregates grown up and initiated men from the rest of the community, consisting of women and children."

"Though the *bogoera* is regarded as an essential institution, it is not nearly so formal or important as the *bodikane*. Before it can be established permission has, however, to be obtained from a Maroteng chief, as in the case of the *bodikane*." (HARRIES (1929) p. 75.) As already noted, the Maroteng regime virtually came to an end with the assasination of Sekhukhuni, the great. The faction fights that followed his assasination contributed towards further sub-dividing the people and estranging them from Maroteng so that today no one thinks of asking for permission from any of the Maroteng chiefs before opening a school. The interval between the *bodika* and the *boxwêra* is normally one year, but it may be longer, e.g. the death of the reigning chief may cause the postponement of the *boxwêra*. Notwithstanding I could find no confirmation of the statement by Harries to the effect that this interval may last for "a period of ten years" (p. 74). However he also says at the beginning (p. 64), "This lodge (i.e. *bodikane*) is held on an average of once in four years by every chief." It is rather misleading when he says: "The word *bogoera* means contemporary and the seniority of a man is determined by the *bogoera* to which he belongs." The trouble is that he confuses the terms *moxwêra* and *boxwêra*. In ordinary speech *moxwêra* means "friend" and *boxwêra* means "friendship". In the language of the initiation school *moxwêra* refers to the individual initiate who attends the *boxwêra* session. As we have already noted, the regiment is named during the *bodika* session. Therefore it in entirely incorrect to say that "Each *bogoera* lodge receives a distinctive name which is also applied to the regiment." Equally inaccurate is the statement that "one of the main objects of the *bogoera* is to classify the men of the tribe into regiments". It is the *bodika* which serves this purpose and not the *boxwêra*.

Opening Ceremony

There are outstanding tribal differences in this ceremony. Among the Tau there is a preliminary ceremony called *makaba*. (In ordinary usage the term *makaba* refers to young oxen that have been

[1] From the verb *xwêra*, to make friends. It therefore means "friendship".

[2] "The Sacred Fire of the Bapedi", *S.Afr.J.Sc.*, (1929) vol. xxvi, p. 550.

tamed and used for riding purposes.) The biggest oxen in the village are selected and driven to the *mošatê*. Simultaneously the *maxaola*, as the young men are called after the *bodika* session, also assemble at the *mošatê*. Upon a signal being given by the Master of Ceremonies, the *mediti* throw a cordon round the *maxaola* and the oxen and drive them towards the centre. In a short while the young men are mingled with the beasts and everyone must try as best he can to avoid being hurt. This ordeal emphasizes the importance of cattle in tribal life and is intended to teach them "how to defend the cattle from the enemy". Winter (1913, p. 132) says of the Pedi as a whole: "No kraal is regarded as defeated, the cattle of which are not taken." After this ceremony the men go out in the same way as they do after the *lexala* ritual. They camp on a selected site just outside the village where the *maxaola* are introduced to the short kilts of the school made of *thutse* (called *bobbejaan-stert* in Afrikaans) and thrashed ritually. Once they wear this *thutse* they are formally constituted into a *boxwêra*. The older men then return home to build two sheds for the *maxwêra*—one in the interior of the *kxôrô*, called *thupa 'ntlô* and the other outside the village called *serôtha*. As the older men return home the *mediti* prepare themselves for the *tsêlêtsê* ordeal.

The aim of the *tsêlêtsê* ordeal is to punish offenders, especially those who may have seduced girls in the interim, or were cheeky and insolent to the men during that period. Such "offenders" are selected in a caucus of the *mediti*. Traditionally those who are known to be well-behaved are not thrashed. This exemption is a reward for their good behaviour. Armed with long *moretlwa* switches the *mediti* form a double line between which the *maxwêra* have to pass one by one. In punishing the "offenders" the *mediti* are inclined to go to extremes. Hence boys from other neighbouring tribes sometimes attend the *bodika* of the Tau but demur to attend their own *boxwêra* "because of this cruel ordeal". I understand the chief of M. has abolished it in his district. After the *tsêlêtsê* ordeal the *maxwêra* gather fire-wood and spend the greater part of the day learning some of the songs of the school. The *mediti* may further use the occasion to punish those considered the worst "offenders" by the method of "milking goats". When they return home in the afternoon they go straight into the *serôtha* where they have their evening meal. Between the hours of 9 and 10 p.m. they proceed to the *thupa 'ntlô* singing all along the way "so as to warn women and uncircumcized men off their path".

Among the Kone the opening ceremony is very simple. The *maxaola* go out for a ritual bath very early in the morning. "This is a purification rite through which they are cleansed of the *boxaola*. The ritual bath being over the Master of Ceremonies gathers them together, thrashes them ritually in order of seniority and then reveals the *thutse* to them (*ba dixêla thutse*). The attendants are then instructed to show them how to wear these kilts (*thutse*). As soon as they are all arrayed, they formally constitute a *boxwêra* and are immediately arranged for the traditional running competition. The smaller boys are given a handicap of a few hundred yards in this race. The starter gives the signal which must, so far as is possible, coincide with the rising of the sun because, *monna xa a selwe* (i.e. a man must be up and doing by sunrise). They chase after a young man who makes for the winning post holding the "Rod of Honour" (*sefoka*)—a short stick whose top is decorated with ostrich feathers. The winner must take it away from him. Hence, *xo tšeya sefoka* (to take away the "Rod of Honour") has come to mean "to win". In olden days the winner received many favours from the reigning chief. He became one of his official messengers and more often than not, he married one of the chief's daughters. For this reason the competition used to be very keen indeed. The boy who came last in the race was illtreated by the *mediti* and laughed at by the spectators when he arrived at the posts.

As with the Kone, the Pedi proper also race at the beginning of the *boxwêra*. But with them the boys race regularly every morning during the first ten days. The winner is the boy who wins most of the races during that time. "This", they claim, "eliminates the element of chance. A boy who wins in the first race may not be the

best runner. "Owing to the severe *tsêlêtsê* ordeal, the Tau race at the end of the session and not at the beginning. This cross-country race is very strenuous.

Nowadays many of the boys race shy of the title. It is not uncommon to see a boy deliberately slackening his speed just before the winning post so that another may pass him and win. People say: "There are two main reasons for it. The first is that chiefs of to-day no longer reward the winner. Therefore there is no more fun in winning the race. The second and more important reason is the fear of witchcraft and sorcery (*ba ka xo sepelêla*). More often than not parents, relatives and friends will advise a boy not to win 'because you will be bewitched' (*ba tla xo lôya*)." Their minds are so magic ridden that when a boy runs exceptionally well they accuse him of "running with the help of 'medicine'" (*O thšabeša ka dihlarê*). Many reasons are given for this increasing fear of witchcraft but the chief amongst them is the fact that "the European administration punishes the killing of witches and sorcerers by chiefs".

According to Harries, "In three essentials does the *bogoera* differ from the *bodikane*. Firstly, instead of three, the term lasts only one month.

"Secondly, there is no *mphathô*, which means that the *mahaola* return to comparative comfort after a day's outing.

"Thirdly, although women are expected to remain in the background it is not a very serious matter if one of them happens upon one of the *bogoera* hunting expeditions."[1] Now, *mphathô* in the physical sense simply means "the lodge". As already mentioned above, there are two lodges for the *maxwêra*, viz. the *thupa 'ntlô* and the *serôtha*. Therefore unless Harries uses the term *mphathô* figuratively, we cannot accept his statement that "there is no *mphatho*". Compared with the *bodika* it is, however, true that "the *mahaola* return to comparative comfort after a day's outing". Thus their diet is varied and they are allowed a variety of relishes (*dišeba*). Every boy gets a dish from his own home. All the dishes are carried by girls who deposit them on a spot about a hundred yards from the *serôtha* and retreat another hundred yards "so as not to be near enough to scrutinize the *boxwêra* kilts when the *maxwêra* fetch the dishes". When they fetch the dishes, they kneel down on both knees so as not to break the kilts. In the *serôtha* the dishes are pooled together and those that are badly cooked are mixed with ash, grass and sticks, to admonish the cooks. There must be left-overs (*dixôrô*) in every dish "because a man is not supposed to eat a lot".

Content of the teaching

The laws and customs of the Pedi are emphasized during this term, and are taught mainly through the medium of the song. Most of these songs are taught in the *thupa 'ntlô*. Among the Mampana people when the initiates leave the *serôtha* they sing: *mathsa alola-alola* to warn women and uncircumcized men out of their path. As they get nearer the *kxôrô* they sing:

Metse re feta balala
Ba-rua-kxomo ra kêna
Ke xata bolôkô bya namane 'kxwana.

(We go past the poor
But visit the Wealthy
Where there is plenty.)

This song emphasizes the value of cattle in tribal life. At the entrance of the *kxôrô* they eulogize the reigning chief, tracing his line of descent as far back as memory permits. Through it they express loyalty to the chief. As they draw near the *thupa 'ntlô* they sing praises to the Queen-mother (*mma 'kxoši*). This song is also an expression of loyalty to the chief. In the *thupa 'ntlô* the men take their turns in instructing the *maxwêra* (*ba ba hlabêla molaô*), e.g.:

Sefakô se sexolo se kile sa na
Sa bolaya kxomo le motho
Ka feta kxomo ka tšeya motho.

(A big hailstorm once swept the district
And killed a man and a cow
I fell upon both and took the man and left the cow.)

[1] HARRIES, C. H. L., p. 75 (1929).

This song, or "law" as they would call it, emphasizes the sanctity of the human body which distinguishes it from other living organisms.

Ke ile ke babya xwa tla kxarebe ya serongwa-rongwa
Molwetši ka mo kxoma ka sêxa ;
Krarebe ya sêxa ya re: Ha! ha! ha!
Molwetši wa pelo 'thšweu o a nkxoma ke a sêxa.

(I was ill when a beautiful woman came to see me;
I touched her and felt amused
She gave me a hysterical laugh and said:
The patient with a white heart touches me and I am amused.)

This song emphasizes the importance of marriage. Reference is made in it to the healthy impulse of a man which is stimulated by the sight of the woman he loves. This sexual desire is regularized in the institution of marriage. "*O a nkxoma ke a sêxa*" refers to the consummation of the marriage.

Among some tribes, e.g. the Tau, some of these songs may be conducted by women. According to L., "The songs and formulae of the *boxwêra* are known to many women because they listen to us when we give instruction in the *thupa 'ntlô*. The Master of Ceremonies may permit such a woman to conduct the evening songs. She stands outside the lodge and the master enters and bids the *maxwêra* to pay attention, 'because so-and-so's mother is going to conduct you' (*Mma'xo mokete o tla le hlabêla molaô*). Then the woman proceeds." I also understand that at a certain stage the Queen-mother (*mma' kxoši*) may ask for permission to see the boys. The master conducts them outside the lodge a few yards from her "so that she may not scrutinize their kilts". Then the master presents them to her by saying: "Here are your children." She may address them or recite stanzas appropriate to the occasion, or request that they should sing for her. She may also ask to see the boy she likes best in the group. That boy emerges from the crowd and walks towards her concealing his kilt with a big shield. If she gives him a small present (e.g. tobacco), he receives it with the hand that is free and then retreats still concealing the kilt.

Among other tribes one or two *dikôma* are celebrated during the *boxwêra* term. Thus the Kone celebrate the lion-*kôma* during the *boxwêra* in which a man is disguised in a lion's skin and hides in the thicket. The boys are thrashed in the usual way and then armed with miniature assegais. Then they throw a cordon round the lion and having ostensibly killed it, carry its skin away on a native stretcher dancing the *moxobô*. It gives them further training in tribal warfare.

Much of their time, however, is spent doing free labour for the chief, such as cutting poles and grass. The bulk of what they kill during the hunt goes to the chief. Therefore some people feel that this session is continued mainly to render some services of thanks to the chief. In addition it further prunes the boys and thus gives the finishing touches to their attainment of manhood. This is well brought out by the expression: "*Ba ya xo iphetša.*" Opinion in general is that this session is a sheer waste of time. I quote here comments by the Pai men at Pokwani:

"Shortly after we had settled in this district the *bodika* school was opened by the Matlala people of Pokwani. As we are men (i.e. we are circumcized) we attended although we were much suspected. Now, among us the *boxwêra* session is non-existent. So when it came to this session the Pokwani people ruled that we should be initiated into it together with their boys. In the discussion that ensued we struck a compromise by agreeing that when there is a new *kôma* introduced, and which we do not know, we should be thrashed ritually together with the boys. We found nothing new in it and were thus saved from the indignity of being thrashed together with the boys."

The following account is also illustrative. I took it down in the heat of a discussion about M. who was being followed by the police on a charge of rape and theft. S. suddenly said, rather irrelevantly: "I am not surprised that M. has turned out to be a perpetual criminal. During the *boxwêra* session in which he was initiated he was

wont to hurl insults at the *mediti*, accusing them of detaining the boys for nothing. At night he would escape from the *thupa 'ntlo* to disturb women and girls at home. When he appeared before the special court of the school the following day, he would be equally defiant. Indeed though the *boxwêra* is a mere farce yet no man would expect such defiance from an initiate."

Closing Ceremony

Two rituals distinguish the closing of the *boxwêra* session from that of the *bodika*. These are (a) *dilakalaka* and (b) *ditlou*. On the last day but one, before the closing the boys are instructed to collect the dry trunks of a certain species of the aloe tree (*sekxôpha*) that grows on the mountain side. After the evening meal each boy burns one of them and together they go out of the *serôtha* illuminating alternatively and return midway between the lodge and the village. This ritual is called *dikalakala* that is, the fire that burns and dies alternatively. Through this medium an official announcement is made to the effect that the school is closing down. According to some informants, "it is a sign that you are now men and must throw away childish things". Figuratively, the extinction represents the ignorance of childhood and the illumination, wisdom of manhood. There is also some suggestion of death and rebirth in it.

The following day they celebrate the "*elephant ritual*" (*ba ya ditloung*). Using the ash from their fire, zebra colours are made on their entire bodies. Then the *maxwêra* are taken to a site specially selected because it is free from all forms of physical obstructions. Here they parade and raise both arms above the head. According to traditional practice each boy must remain in this position until his mother gives a basket of corn to the *mediti*. So one by one the boys drop their hands until only those whose mothers are deceased remain "holding the tusks of the elephant". When the Master of Ceremonies is satisfied that everybody has identified them, he allows them to drop their hands. I was told that "this is to remind a young man that his mother is deceased. He must now be careful of indiscreet women who may play the rôle of mother to him if only to enjoy the fruits of his labours." It is of particular significance to the son of a polygynist who is thereby advised to regard the co-wives of his father (*baxaditšong*) as potential enemies quite regardless of their attitude towards him.

The boys then rush to the *serôtha* to get rid of their kilts, bathe and be arrayed in new loinskins (*dithlaba*). As with the *bodika*, it is taboo for any one among them to see the *serôtha* being demolished. Everything they used during the session is burnt down together with it. Late that afternoon they march triumphantly into the village. In the meanwhile the baskets of corn are pooled together and used for cooking the *thšima* for their welcome reception. They spend the first ten days at the *mošatê* where they are the guests of the reigning chief. On the tenth day they bid him farewell and each one goes to his home after a day's outing. The school has closed and now they are full-fledged men of the tribe. The following day the corresponding school for the girls, called *byale*, begins.

EFFECT OF INITIATION ON THE PEDI BOY

In the first place initiation confers upon him the status of a man, irrespective of his age. Henceforward every initiated man is his comrade in arms. So far as graduating in these schools is concerned, sociological maturity counts more than physiological maturity.

Secondly, now that he is a man, he despises women and uninitiated men. This feeling of superiority has many effects in practical life. It means that a small boy of 12 is at liberty to look down upon a man of 48, if the latter is not an initiated person. Worse still, if the boy's father is not initiated, the boy has no reason to respect him. This is incompatible with the Christian teaching as embodied in the Fourth Commandment, namely: "Honour thy Father and

thy Mother, that thy days may be long etc." As for the idea of disobedience to all women (the mother not excepted), it throws some light on the rapid deterioration of discipline among the boys as a corollary of migratory labour. Similarly those who condescend to attend the modern village school after initiation become a problem to both teachers and pupils. As a rule they tend to keep together and not mix with the other boys. A conflict arises in their minds for although they desire education, the fact that the teachers are uninitiated persons is most unwelcome, to say the least of it. The position is worse where the teacher concerned is a woman. Thus they are torn between two worlds—they desire modern education and yet they hate to be taught by their social inferiors (*mašoboro*). Under a prefect system, many of them wilfully disobey the prefect unless he is himself an initiated person. Thus discipline is imperilled. At present this conflict is not pronounced because most of the schools are run by the Churches and they uncompromisingly insist on a certain standard of behaviour. Nevertheless with the introduction of tribal and public schools and the admission of more and more pagan children, things are bound to change in the near future.

Thirdly, it makes him respect his seniors. This would have been an asset to the community as a whole if it were given a wider connotation, as with obedience to authority. The latter, for instance, is stretched to include masters and employers. As a result some European employers prefer initiated boys to uninitiated ones.

Fourthly, it gives him the rights and privileges of a citizen, which are greatly valued in tribal life. As a bonafide citizen he is now entitled to attend tribal meetings (*pitso*), tribal courts (*kxotla*), hunting expeditions (*lesolo*), and is eligible for the army.

Fifthly, it demands of him a higher degree of keeping secrets. As a result many of them would rather suffer than reveal a secret. Once he swears: "*Ke dikhupa-marama ke tla be ka hwa natšó!*" his word may be relied upon. Similarly in making an oath, once he swears by his chief, or by his *mphathô*, or by his father, one may rely on his word. I often think that if this fact was used in modern European courts in the place of "*So help me God!*" which does not seem to mean anything to him, his evidence would be more reliable than at present.

ATTITUDES

For purposes of this discussion we may divide the Pedi into two main categories, viz: (a) Pagans and (b) Christians.

(a) *Pagans*

In the first place, the initiation of a son confers a new social status on his parents. This is particularly so when he is their first son. One man, who had just initiated his first son, said to me: "Now I may die in peace because I will be leaving a man behind me to perpetuate my name and continue my family-line." If the young man dies there will be a proper burial and he will be mourned for in full traditional practice. If he dies unmarried his kinsmen have a duty towards him, namely, that of marrying him a wife and raising seed for him.[1] Such a wife is called "the wife of the grave" (*Ke mosadi wa lebitla*). "To ignore this duty is to offend him in the underworld where he lives in the full knowledge that there is no one on this earth to perpetuate his name and continue his family-line", said K. "Consequently his ghost may haunt our village."

Secondly, it gives them a means of expressing their class structure; hence the emphasis on seniority.

Thirdly, it is the only school through which they formally transmit their cultural heritage from one generation to another. It is very effective as a disciplinary force and makes for the cohesion of the tribe as a whole. Thus they believe that the deterioration of their social and moral code to-day is due to the fact that many Pedi people have not been initiated.

Fourthly, through it they express their loyalty to the reigning chief. It enhances the prestige of

[1] This is what Evans-Pritchard calls a "ghost marriage". See his *Some Aspects of Marriage and the family among the Nuer*, R. L. P. (1945) p. 7.

the chief and settles the question of succession, since the heir apparent is crowned during initiation. To the chief himself it further constitutes a never-failing sources of income. Many a chief argues that it has a stabilizing effect on the tribe as a whole.

Lastly, though there are no wars to engage the men, initiation is still used as the basis of organizing regiments.

(b) *Christians*

Generally speaking it may be said that they regard the traditional initiation school as a "heathenish practice". This apprehension against the school originally came from the missionaries, and to this day many of them cannot give a satisfactory explanation as to why they should be condemned. Those who have been through the school condemn it as cruel and barbarous and altogether incompatible with modern life. But even they concede that the operation performed is good for health reasons. But they regard the school itself as the main-stay of "the darkness of heathenism". Another objection is that they are "hotbeds of immorality and sedition". But this cannot be proved against them, at least when viewed within the accepted standards of the people as a whole. Nevertheless some of their sons run away from home to join these schools, either because of a spirit of adventure, or through the instigation of pagan friends and relatives, or, as is more often the case, because of the love of a woman. Some people have urged the Government to suppress them, or alternatively to have them conducted under Government supervision. So far the Government has not shown any preparedness to suppress them, but there is already a measure of Government supervision. There can be no doubt that should the Government abolish them by legislation, or suppress them administratively, they will be driven underground where they may do a lot of harm.

In my way of thinking these schools contain much that is useful in tribal life. They should therefore be purged of their undesirable features and adapted to modern conditions. For instance, their handicrafts could be developed into a short course in Arts and Crafts. Their *mediti* should be men who have also been trained in modern professional schools and should make use of the occasion to launch a literacy campaign. The experiment of Bishop Lucas in Tanganyika may also be tried in Sekhukhuniland with some advantage. One great weakness with them is a lack of self-criticism, and this may be rectified in the process of adaptation. (*Concluded*)

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Die Volkwerdung der Hausa (Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.) WESTERMANN, DIEDRICH (Akademie-verlag, Berlin: 1950.) 44 pp., prys 2,70 D.M.

'n Brosjure waarin die bekende skrywer en taalgeleerde die wordingsgeskiedenis van die Hausa aan die hand van legendes, kronieke en ander bronne uiteensit. Hy kom tot die gevolgtrekking dat die volk sy beslag gekry het uit (i) 'n groep nigritiese stammetjies ten weste van Tsjadmeer waar een taal die botoon begin voer en die origes geabsorbeer het, en (ii) die inwerking van vreemde elemente wat vanuit verskillende rigtings en op verskillende tye die land binnegekom het. Eers is dit die ooste en noordooste wat vernaamlik op politieke terrein invloed uitoefen; daarna kom die weste, en hier is die invloed veral van kulturele aard. Behalwe streke soos Bornu en Bagirmi is dit meer spesifiek volkere soos Dagomba, Arabiere, Berbers, Mande en in die neëntiende eeu Ful wat die inheemse bevrug; die bestaande politieke en sosiale orde word daardeur tot nuwe ontplooiïng gebring. Ook die ou godsdiens laat hom nie uitroei nie en woeker ten dele nog voort onder sy Mohammedaanse bedekking.

Die skrywer sluit af met 'n uitvoeringe en goed gedokumenteerde beskrywing van die geskiedenis en lotgevalle van die Hausastate Daura, Kano, Katsena en Zazzau. J.A.E.

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Histori ea Lesotho. (History of Basutoland.) MOSEBI DAMANE. (Morija Sesuto Book Depot, Morija: 1950.) viii+114 pp., 3/-

The history of Basutoland has already been written before by such men as Ellenberger, Lagden and Theal to mention only the most important, but there are few books on this subject written in Sotho, fewer still, if any, written in Sotho by a Sotho. This book is to be welcomed as a sign that the people are beginning to take an active interest in their own history.

The book is divided into three sections. The first section deals with the history of the clans that form the "Basotho", viz. Bakoena, Bafokeng, Bataung, and Baphuthi. The ancestry of Moshoeshoe, his birth and the early days of his rule are also dealt with in this section, which ends with the period of tribal wars of the early nineteenth century. The second section begins with the arrival of the first French missionaries (whose names are not mentioned) in 1833 and ends with the death of Chief Lerotholi in 1905. The final section describes how Basutoland is administered. There is also an account of Lerotholi who succeeded as Paramount Chief in 1893, followed by a list of chiefs showing Moshoeshoe's parents and descendants.

The first section is of course not based on any written documents but on what reached the early writers by way of oral tradition. The oft-repeated saying of historians 'no documents no history' is borne out by this first section as compared with the next section. A general vagueness characterizes it, perhaps due to scarcity of facts; these can now no longer be checked or amplified.

The second section is based on written documents. The author has made good use of these, even quoting some translated into Sotho. In some cases he even quotes accounts of proceedings at meetings (*lipitso*) or in the Cape Parliament. This makes the whole account sound, authentic and interesting. Many a Sotho reader will certainly enjoy this feature. The book is also well supplied with maps to illustrate the effects of various treaties on the boundaries, the keys to the maps being in Sotho as well as the names of rivers and places. At the end of each chapter there is a list of questions which should prove very interesting to teachers. There is also the valuable section dealing with the administration

of Basutoland: the King, the Cabinet, the minister in whose portfolio Basutoland falls, parliament, the High Commissioner, down to the chief's councils. There is also an account of the National Treasury System.

There is however a tendency to deal with Basutoland as though it were isolated and unaffected by events in the rest of Southern Africa. This must always result in a distorted picture. The significance of important events such as the Great Trek and the abandonment of Basutoland by the Cape Government is either not mentioned or not sufficiently stressed. The author might also have shown the connection between the events and the general trend of British Colonial Policy which exercised a very great influence on the history of Basutoland.

History is not just a record of political events. Behind these are generally to be found economic factors which play an equally important part. An exclusively political account is likely to be misleading. The economic aspect must also be treated. The omission of events, such as the discovery of diamonds and gold in the Cape and Transvaal Republic, is regrettable; for these events were, and still are, of great importance, not only to what has since become the Union, but to the whole of Southern Africa affecting all the Bantu tribes. The result of such an isolationist treatment is to foster ignorance about the Union in the minds of readers.

It is rather a pity that the author decided to stop his account with the year 1905, when so much of importance has happened to Basutoland since then. There is the formation of Union in 1910 after the passing of the S.A. Act of 1909 with the clauses referring to the High Commission Territories; there is the first World War of 1914–1918; the economic depression and the second World War. To stop with Lerotholi as paramount chief is also an unfortunate decision. History must serve to explain the present, in it we seek our origins. It certainly would have been better to have linked later paramount chiefs with Lerotholi in a fuller account than just listing them. If it is the requirement of the syllabus to stop with 1905, then writers must always bear in mind that their books should have more than what is indicated in the syllabus. It is also difficult to understand why the chapter on Lerotholi should be included in the Civics section.

The book is written in good Sotho, and as a first edition it is welcomed. It is to be hoped that in later editions the author will build on it and make improvements where necessary and so give us the first real standard history book in Sotho by a Sotho.

S. M. Mofokeng.

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The Web of Kinship among the Tallensi. The Second Part of an Analysis of the Social Structure of a Trans-Volta Tribe. Meyer Fortes. (Oxford University Press for the International African Institute, London: 1949.) xiv+358 pp., index, illustrations, 38/6.

The Web of Kinship continues the analysis of Tale social organization begun by Dr. Fortes in *The Dynamics of Clanship* published in 1945. Both are brilliant applications of the methods of social analysis developed from the teachings of Professor Radcliffe-Brown and show how fruitful these can be in defining the principles which underlie social structure and organize the social life of a people. It is unfortunate, however, that the two studies could not appear in one volume, or that the second did not appear first. In it Dr. Fortes has been able to clarify his thinking with the result that he is able to write more simply with fewer lapses into the terminological elaborations which made *The Dynamics of Clanship* difficult to read and sometimes quite unintelligible.

Where *The Dynamics of Clanship* dealt with the ramifications of the lineage system as the general framework of Tale society, *The Web of Kinship* analyses the interplay of kinship principles within the domestic family and their extension into the wider field of kinship relationships. The detailed description of family life will make most field workers regret their lost opportunities. Case material is used skilfully to point the argument and define the norms of behaviour and sentiment

existing between different categories of kin, and full acknowledgement is made to the way in which individual personalities and circumstances may affect these norms. The richness of the description proves again the importance of a theoretical background in field work and should be an answer to those who maintain that the social anthropologists are too formal in their approach.

Dr. Fortes maintains that Tale society is in an equilibrium brought about by the counterpoising of polar principles. Within the domestic family the interaction of ties of parentage and ties of marriage gives rise to two concepts of descent —the concept of patrilateral kinship leads to the enduring pattern of the lineage; the concept of matrilateral kinship introduces the variability and flexibility of individual personal ties that lead to segmentation and dispersion in family and social structure. Again, he identifies two basic classes of kinship. In one, the analogy is with the relationship existing between siblings, visualized "as one of common though interdependent religious allegiance to a particular line of common ancestors, in sacrifices to whom they may both partake . . . " The other presupposes the analogy of parent-child relationship, and here the element stressed is that "the lineage or individual of the senior generation sacrifices to their or his ancestors on behalf of the lineage or individual of the junior generation." In the field of extra-clan kinship, two different sets of relations can again be distinguished. One involves the tie of uterine kinship, "Symmetrical relationships derived from the genealogical and social equivalence of sisters." The other rests on the relation of mother's brother and sister's son, a reciprocal relationship of the same type as that of parent and child with a moral and religious coefficient.

The discussion of the ties of uterine descent throws light upon the phenomenon of dual descent found in other tribes of West Africa. In contrast to the line of agnatic descent which carries jural status, rights of inheritance, ritual privileges, etc., the line of uterine descent is essentially a personal bond, but, associated with it are certain spiritual characteristics, notably that of witchcraft. "The occurrence of witchcraft within a lineage would poison the mutual confidence of agnates, disrupt their corporate relationships, and so throw social life into confusion. As it is, the pegging of witchcraft to the uterine line serves to circumvent any danger it might be to the community." But the ties of uterine descent are voluntary ties in which the keynote is mutual trust as between equals. In contrast, the tie between mother's brother and sister's son is more than a personal bond. It plays a role in relationships between corporate groups since it is extended to include the whole of the mother's brother's inner lineage.

The most illuminating portion of the book deals with the domestic family, which is most commonly the agnatic joint family consisting of two or more close agnates with their wives, children and other dependents. These occupy a single homestead and form "an organized economic and jural unit . . . under the authority of the oldest by age or generation of the group of agnates upon whom it is based. Its component families are in segments, ordered and articulated in conformity with the lineage relations binding this group of men to one another." Within the family, the *dug*, consisting of a woman and her children by one man, "constitutes the irreducible unit of Tale social structure, both jurally and morally, held together by the strongest social and emotional bonds conceivable to the Tallensi." The joint family over a period of time tends to split up into the elementary families composing it, along inherent lines of cleavage. Permanent fission is likely to occur between brothers or paternal cousins, or by the withdrawal of the family head's deceased brother's sons. They build separate homesteads, and thus, in the course of a generation or two, a joint family involves into an expanded family. Each man is then the head of his own relatively independent household, but the senior male exercises general supervision over the affairs of the group and controls the patrimonial land and cattle.

Within the elementary family, stability is achieved through a slow process by which the wife and mother subordinates her attachment to her paternal home to the interests of the family

and her husband's clan. A further element of unstability lies in the relations between parents and children, which Dr. Fortes considers the focal point of the whole kinship system. These relations fall into three categories: relations of identification, relations of opposition, and relations of reciprocity. The last enables a balance to be struck between the common interests of the agnatic line and the divergent interests due to the difference of generation. Dr. Fortes stresses that the bond between mother and children is one of warm affection while that between father and children is more formal. Yet, the Tallensi believe that female ancestors are particularly cruel and the divining shrine which most men acquire is by definition "a female shrine" and the "very incarnation of the vindictive and jealous aspect of the ancestors." "Every man . . . is directed by the religious system of the Tallensi to project his deeper feelings of guilt and insecurity largely on to the mother image embodied in the (divining shrine) complex." The antagonism between father and child, however, finds its ritual expression in the belief that the personal destiny (*yin*) of the father is a rival of that of the son, the rivalry increasing as the son matures and his *yin* strengthens. The tension is greatest between a man and his first born son who will succeed him on his death, and a clash between their destinies is safeguarded and avoided through a number of ritual precautions.

The child is subordinated to his father both through the latter's jural rights and through the ancestor cult. "The fact that a man can only sacrifice directly to the spirits of his own parents and to antecedent ancestors through his own parents, and not to or through the spirits of proxy parents, is as important a factor in the unique bond of parent and child as the fact that a child is usually brought up by his own parents." An individual can sacrifice directly to his ancestors only after the death of his father for such sacrifices can only be offered through the medium of his father's spirit. It is significant here that ritual sanctions do not operate to enforce the parent's obligations to his child. Ancestor spirits will not punish the parent for a dereliction of duty, though a man who neglects his duties to his dead brother's children will incur the anger of his paternal ancestors. The living father thus acts as an effectual barrier as well as a channel between his children and his ancestors. Filial piety, on the other hand, is enforced by sanctions, for the living parent may bless or curse his child—a son may be mystically affected if his father merely habours resentment against him—and a dead parent has unlimited power over his children.

A final chapter is devoted to a consideration of the implications of kinship institutions. Dr. Fortes denies that the facts of sex, procreation, and the rearing of offspring are adequate alone to explain the phenomena of kinship. They constitute only the raw material of kinship systems. Among the Tallensi, economic techniques and religious values have as close a connection with the lineage system as have the reproductive needs of the society.

A number of minor criticisms may be made. On page 308, the text seems to contain two directly contradictory statements. It is assumed that the reader will be familiar with *The Dynamics of Clanship*, for though a brief summary is presented of the analysis contained in that book, all description of the physical environment and of the size and distribution of the Tale group has been omitted. Chapters III and IV contain some welcome quantitative data on the composition of domestic families and the frequency of divorce. The author speaks of these as being collected from random samples of the Tale population, but gives no information as to how the random selection was made. One could also quibble about some of the suggested formulations, which to this reader at least seem to add little to our understanding of the role of institutions, e.g. "Our suggestion is that the essence of a highly elaborated kinship system like that of the Tallensi lies in its function as the primary mechanism through which the basic moral axioms of a society of the type represented by the Tallensi are translated into the concrete give and take of social life." (p. 346)

The Web of Kinship is one of the best documented studies of kinship relations that has appeared, as well as one of the most thoughtful

considerations of the theoretical problems involved in this field of investigation. Any anthropologist engaged in field work would do well to take a copy with him as he will find it a stimulus to new investigation as well as a source of illumination for the problems that his particular tribe or group pose in the fields of kinship and social organization. E. COLSON.

Apartheid in South Africa. P. S. JOSHI (1950) 108 pp., 5/-.

In clear unequivocal language the writer, an Indian and author of *The Tyranny of Colour*, sets out the reactions of the non-European (African, Indian and Coloured) to the apartheid policy of the government in South Africa. The statement is not exaggerated; but it constitutes a definite indictment of a "Herrenvolk" policy which cannot be upheld by the standard of the teaching of Jesus Christ; and it foreshadows a very grim future for race relations in this land, if persisted in. The unbiassed reader will agree with Mr. Joshi's words: "The reasonable approach lies in offering the non-Europeans a hope, a future with a coveted privilege to contribute to the economic growth of the country by opening up the hitherto closed channels of activity." It is to be hoped that this book will be widely read. C.M.D.

Der Urmensch und sein Weltbild. WILHELM KOPPERS (Herold, Wien: 1949.) 272 pp.

Koppers uses the expression "Mitspracherecht der Ethnologie", meaning that Ethnology has to fit in with the subjects of Prehistory, Palaeoanthropology as soon as the research on the origin of man is no longer concerned with the physical body only but turns to the study of the development of man's character, his social and spiritual life. This study is a most essential one, because it is now realized that those complexes have existed from the beginning of man. Koppers considers that the time is not far distant, when biological researches will no longer be entirely concerned with phylogenetial matters which will soon be generally known and accepted, but will concentrate on examining the underlying causes that have produced the peculiarities that distinguish not only organic species but the individuals in each, more especially man.

Koppers realizing that his book would be critically reviewed where he deals with subjects of related studies, always, before advancing his own views, quotes supporting texts from recognized authorities in these cognate studies. However, he admits that he selects from those, whose views march with his own.

Discussing the twenty odd fossil humanoid skeletons discovered throughout the world, Koppers then proceeds to examine from different angles the knowledge thus gained. Thus he remarks (p. 81ff.) that those scientists who assemble these skeletons on an evolutionary basis have an anthropomorphic interest and regard these skeletons as links between man and ape. Other scientists who consider that these skeletal remains are merely the local variations of a single type regard all humanoid-like figures as but other instances of a degradation of the original type as presented by Homo Sapiens. The recent South African discoveries do not support this point of view. The third group of scientists considers that variations in the skeletons are due to miscegenation, because in the beginning, when there was isolation of groups, there must also have resulted specialization (Huxley). Koppers agrees with Birkner in considering that there is sufficient evidence to accept that Homo Sapiens was the first man as a working hypothesis.

A. SCHMIDT.

The Prehistory of Southern Rhodesia. N. JONES. (Cambridge U.P.: 1949.) Illus. Diags. 78 pp.

This publication is Museum Memoir No. 2 of the National Museum of Southern Rhodesia. The book consists of six chapters: I. Historical; II. The Earliest Men; III. The Building up of the Rhodesian sequence; IV. The Caves and Rock-shelters; V. The Rock Paintings; VI. The Ironstone Kopjes.

The Historical Chapter is poorly done.

Dr. Neville Jones was a member of a Protestant Mission. His reference to, and acknowledgement of, the work done by the Roman Catholic priest, the Reverend Father Gardner, S.J. is undeservedly scant. The other chapters especially from No. III to the end inclusive are excellent.

I shall confine myself to commenting on the unbalanced aspect of Chapter I. I gained my archaelogical interests under the direction and guidance of Father Gardner and to read a summary of the prehistory of Southern Rhodesia with Father Gardner's contribution dismissed with the remark: "Father Gardner made surface finds near Bulawayo and collected a series of stone tools in the quarries on the Gwelo Kopje" shakes one's confidence in the scientific rectitude of Dr. Neville Jones. Father Gardner collected stone implements from such places as the Victoria Falls in 1904, from the Matoppos, Somobula, Zambesi and elsewhere.

When the Rhodesian Museum had next to nothing to show in the way of Stone Implements, Father Gardner's collection at St. George's was already a large and representative one. I quote from a letter he wrote to me in 1934. "My first collection went to St. George, Salisbury. After that I reaped another field. Driefontein between Gwelo and Fort Victoria. These went to His Holiness the Pope for his well known exhibition—somehow, (but fairly) the British Museum got into my cases and contrived to buy what its specialists wanted. Since then I have dug up all around our doors—not a 'ridiculus mus'—from the mountain but matter wherewith you would write a book. . . Your diagnosis of the implement I inquired about was correct. It was the 'Mousterian Core', to my mind the big invention of Stone Age Man. Now, for the fun. The artefact in question was unknown to the Savants in England at that date 1905 (6 ?): was it unknown to the frenchies [sic]. Africa(s) did not know it."

These remarks refer to a number of artefacts that I had picked up in 1905 (6 ?) between Raylton and the donga beyond it, to the South. I had handed them to Father Gardner with the remark. "Here is what is left when stone-age man had knocked off what he wanted."

Father Gardner had written to me in England to find out what was the earliest date at which the term "Mousterian Core" was used. He suspected it was after 1905 (6 ?)

In 1908 I found a number of large hand axes in the black soil on the right bank of the above donga.

The hand axes, either in quartz or in other materials in Father Gardner's collection far surpass the poor specimens illustrated in this Memoir: the same observation applies to the microliths.

Reading this monograph one gathers the impression that there was nothing doing in the archaeological world between 1904 and 1918 when Dr. Neville Jones remarks "in that year Dr. Arnold. . . and I did some excavating in the Bambata cave". Excluding the work done at Gokomere, Father Gardner's collection which, still surpasses anything in the National Museum, was made during these years.

The rest of the Memoir gives a comprehensive account of the present state of our knowledge of stone-age man in Rhodesia. Writing of the division of the Stone Age into Early, Middle, Late, the author says that these divisions are based "largely on certain cultural developments". It would be more accurate to say "on certain material culture developments" for we know nothing about the rest of their culture.

On the question of the use of bored stone no mention is made of Professor Dart's paper thereon. Sir Henry Johnston shows bored stones used for weighting spears in game-traps still in use in Uganda.

The chapter on the Rock paintings takes cognizance of the problems that their investigation raises. As an historical note I may mention that in 1906 I found rock paintings near Bulawayo. The Victoria Falls road runs through a little cluster of granite boulders about four miles north of Bulawayo and low down on a few small boulders away from the rest are rock paintings in red ochre.

The reference to Professor Seligman's guess in 1930 that the Hottentots are the result of a cross between Bushmen and Hamites (p. 64)

is most unfortunate in view of the evidence published by South African anatomists and accepted by Keith and Ruggles—Gates and Hooton showing a Boskop origin for the Hottentots.

One wonders what restraining hand has kept out any reference to the engravings found in 1940 on the top of Forest Vale Kopje, engravings which were not there in 1915.

Some recognition of Father Gardner's work at Gokomere is given in the chapter on *The Ironstone Kopjes*.

In his conclusion Dr. Neville Jones points out that Dr. Zeuner estimates the presence of man in Europe at least 590,000 years ago and remarks: "If we could argue that tools of the same type as those found in Europe were being made contemporaneously in Africa, we could tentatively accept these figures for our African cultures, etc." but why contemporaneously. All the evidence points to man originating in a warm climate. Europe with its ice-ages could not have been the cradle of man. South Africa has had its glaciations, only central Africa has been free. The evidence points to Central Africa as the ancestral home of man and if he reached Europe 590,000 years ago he was in Central Africa long before.

The book should be on the shelf of every archaeologist.

M. D. W. JEFFREYS.

The Pattern of Hera Kinship. J.F. HOLLEMAN. (The Rhodes-Livingstone Papers Number Seventeen.) (Oxford University Press, London: 1949.) 58 pp., diagrams. 6/-.

This paper is based on a study of the Hera tribe under the Nyashanu chieftainship, living in the central and southern portions of the Sabi Native Reserve, Mashonaland, Southern Rhodesia.

An approach stressed by Radcliffe-Brown and one that has stimulated recent field work, particularly in Africa, is the analysis, in the field, of a particular group's social organization viewed as a system of interdependent parts.

The significance of kinship in the functioning of Hera society has been clearly demonstrated to be a principle ramifying through the social structure.

The author gives a description of the terminology and structure of Hera kinship relations and proceeds to discuss some aspects of kinship relations in practice in order to determine whether, and to what extent, the structural framework as explained, in his description, is a functional reality in daily life. There is a comprehensive account of prohibited and preferential marriages followed by a brief discussion of the main aspects of social behaviour between different kinds of relatives by blood and by marriage in so far as it gives a better understanding of the practical side of the kinship system. Finally the author analyses the element of kinship in the composition of local political units.

The paper gives ready testimony that field research in kinship has shared in the over-all improvement in ethnographic techniques manifest since the time when anthropologists set out themselves to collect their own data through first-hand observation of primitive peoples.

The value of the paper consists in giving in convenient form the framework of Hera kinship which may have its use as comparative material in view of other studies and investigations in this field being carried out at present. L. L.